KIM IL SUNG

ANSWERS
TO THE QUESTIONS RAISED
BY FOREIGN JOURNALISTS



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PROGRESSIVE JOURNALISTS OF THE FIVE CONTINENTS, WIELD YOUR POWERFUL REVOLUTIONARY PEN AND STERNLY CONDEMN US IMPERIALISM!

Speech of Greeting at the International Conference on the Tasks of Journalists of the Whole World in Their Fight against the Aggression of US Imperialism

September 18, 1969

Dear delegates,
Comrades and friends,

Reflecting the lofty aspirations and unanimous desires of the journalists of the five continents who oppose imperialism and colonialism and strive for national independence and social progress, this international conference of journalists has been convened with the revolutionary people all over the world showing great interest in it. It gives us great pleasure that a meeting of true representatives of the progressive press of the world has been convened in Pyongyang, the capital of our country, under the revolutionary banner of anti-imperialist, anti-US struggle On behalf of the Government of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea, I warmly welcome the representatives of the progressive journalists of Asia, Africa, Latin America, Oceania and Europe who have come to attend this conference.

Comrades and friends,

Today we are living in a glorious age of revolutionary change when the colonial system of imperialism is crumbling beyond repair, in a great historic age when the national-liberation revolution of the oppressed peoples is gaining signal victories.

A fierce struggle is going on in the international arena today between socialism and imperialism, between the revolutionary forces and the counterrevolutionary forces.

In this struggle the socialist and peace-loving forces are winning victory after victory while the imperialist forces of aggression are falling into decay and ruin.

The time is past when a handful of imperialist billionaires could swagger about and lord it over the earth, exploiting and plundering mankind at will. The face of the world has radically changed.

In the world arena, along with the revolutionary struggle of the people of the socialist countries, the liberation struggle of the people in the colonial and dependent countries is forging vigorously ahead. Today in the vast areas of Asia, Africa and Latin America the mighty flood tide of the national-liberation revolutionary movement is surging forward with irresistible force. Great revolutionary storms are sweeping across these continents, wiping out imperialism and colonialism. Hundreds of millions of people, in those areas, oppressed and plundered by imperialism for centuries, have thrown off the cursed yoke of colonialism and majestically emerged as heroes in this new stage of history. They are winning brilliant victories in their great cause of tearing down the old system of imperialism and colonialism and building a new life. The peoples of the countries still groaning under the imperialist colonial yoke have heroically taken up arms against the foreign imperialist aggressive forces. Under the powerful impact of the national-liberation movement the chains of colonial slavery are falling apart everywhere and

the colonial system of imperialism which has spelled so much misery and suffering for humanity is crumbling to dust. There no longer exists any "safe rear" or "quiet backyard" for the imperialists. Imperialism is breathing its last.

At the same time, the revolutionary struggle of the working class and other working people in the capitalist countries—the struggle for vital rights and democratic freedoms against capitalist oppression and exploitation—is gaining strength. This makes the bloodthirsty imperialists atremble with apprehension and fear.

Political and economic crises in the imperialist world are growing more serious day by day and the contradictions among the imperialist powers in their struggle for markets and spheres of influence are becoming more acute.

Hard hit from within and without, the imperialists are being driven further into a blind alley.

In spite of the twists and turns, and temporary failures and setbacks in the course of the revolution, the general trend remains favourable for socialism and the forces of revolution and unfavourable for imperialism and the forces of reaction.

But the US and other imperialists will never quit the stage of history of their own accord. Still dreaming of its past position, imperialism is desperately trying to recover its lost footholds and to save itself from doom by resorting to aggression and war.

The US imperialists are resorting to open violence: they are committing aggressive acts against the socialist countries and independent national states, brutally suppressing the national-liberation movement of the Asian, African and Latin-American peoples and viciously disturbing peace in all parts of the world. While continuing their barbarous holocaust against the South Vietnamese people for some years, the US imperialists are committing gangster acts of aggression against the Democratic Republic of Viet Nam They are making frenzied

attempts to strangle the Republic of Cuba, the first country to win the socialist revolution in the Western Hemisphere and the beacon of hope for the Latin-American peoples. The US imperialists are stepping up their armed intervention in Laos and ceaselessly egging the Zionists on to acts of aggression and war against the Arab peoples in the Middle East. By rearming Japanese and West German militarism they are again creating dangerous hotbeds for fresh conflagrations of war in Asia and Europe.

The imperialists headed by the United States put on a show of advocating independence and freedom for the people, but in reality they are making frantic efforts to maintain their colonial rule in a more crafty and underhand way, and are foolishly trying to catch the people of the newly independent countries again in a noose of neocolonialism.

They are pursuing a policy of colonial subjugation in many of the Asian, African and Latin-American countries by bribing and whipping up Right-wing circles such as the top military brass and representatives of the tribal upper crust who have turned reactionary. If the puppets they have put in power get in the way of their colonial policy in the slightest degree, the imperialists engineer a reactionary military coup, establish a fascist military dictatorship, and do not hesitate to intervene openly by force of arms. Such outrageous plots and manoeuvrings constitute a standing threat to the newly independent countries and have reduced a number of governments to colonial ruling machines for imperialism, thereby diverting them to the Right and virtually tying them down to the status of colony or semi-colony.

The imperialist policy of reducing the developing countries to economic subordination is one of the main features of neocolonialism. US imperialism uses its "aid" policy as a major tool for overseas expansion, hypocritically calling it "joint development of underdeveloped countries". Its "aid" paves the

way for overseas infiltration of monopoly capital. By exporting huge amounts of capital and obtaining various colonial concessions, the imperialists have seized the levers of control of the economy in many countries of the world. Thus, imperialist monopoly capital ruthlessly continues to rob these countries of their rich natural resources and their industrious people of the fruits of their labour. Through "economic aid" the imperialists are not only holding back the development of independent national economies in the backward countries, but are also flagrantly interfering in their internal affairs and reducing their political independence to a mere name.

Together with economic infiltration, ideological and cultural infiltration is an important method of neocolonialism By intensifying their reactionary ideological and cultural offensive against a number of countries under the spurious titles of "peace corps", "African crossroads programme", etc., the US imperialists are paralysing the people's sense of national independence and their revolutionary consciousness, instilling in them US worship and anti-communist ideas, imbuing them with national nihilism, spreading the decadent Yankee brand of immorality and depravity among them and continuing their wrecking and subversive activities behind the screen of "peace"

Under the signboards of "anti-communism" and "mutual security", the US and other imperialists have enmeshed a number of countries in aggressive military blocs and bilateral military alliances and treaties, making them dependent militarily and turning them into their colonial military bases.

By such neocolonialist manipulation, US imperialism seized the hegemony of the capitalist world from the old colonialists and emerged as the colonial "emperor" after the Second World War. It has stretched its vicious claws of aggression into every part of the world.

Today, on this earth, there is no place, whether in Asia, Africa or Latin America, that is free from the reach of US im-

perialism's tentacles of aggression, and there is no country, big or small, free from the threat of US imperialist aggression.

All this proves ever more clearly that US imperialism is the most barbarous and shameless aggressor of modern times, the main force of aggression and war, the ringleader of world reaction, the bulwark of modern colonialism, the strangler of national liberation and independence, and the disrupter of world peace.

The present situation demands that the revolutionary people of the five continents fight more resolutely against imperialism, against old and new colonialism, and concentrate their attack on US imperialism in particular. Without combatting US imperialism, neither peace nor national independence, nor the victory of democracy and socialism is conceivable today.

The revolutionary people throughout the world should put strong pressure from all sides on the US-led imperialists and tie them hand and foot so that they cannot have things their own way.

Above anyone else, the people of the socialist countries should play a big role in this. They should not only expedite the building of socialism and communism vigorously in their own countries, exercising vigilance to smash the subversion and sabotage of the imperialists and the remnants of the overthrown exploiting classes, but, proceeding from Marxist-Leninist revolutionary ethics, should also regard giving active support to the national-liberation movement as an internationalist duty. As bases of the world revolution, the socialist countries should resolutely oppose the war policy of the imperialists and their predatory colonial policy. They should energetically assist the oppressed nations in all their revolutionary struggles. This will strengthen the allied forces of the socialist countries and the international working class, and is the way to hasten the common victory in the anti-imperialist revolutionary struggle.

Together with the people of the socialist countries, the work-

ing class in the capitalist countries, too, should fight more vigorously against imperialism and thereby give powerful support and encouragement to the liberation movement of the oppressed nations. The working class of the metropolitan states and the oppressed peoples of the colonies are in the same position. In order to increase their plunder and exploitation of the people of the colonial and dependent countries, the imperialists make every effort to estrange the working class of the metropolitan countries from the peoples of the colonies. They manoeuvre to poison the working class with the stinking ideas of racism and national chauvinism and to disorganize the militant ranks of the working class from within by bribing the labour aristocrats with a portion of the superprofits they have raked in from the colonies. The working class of the metropolitan countries must thoroughly smash this underhand trick and stoutly fight against the imperialists' aggression and plunder of colonial and dependent countries. They must also fully support the right of the people of the colonial and dependent countries to complete independence and wage revolutionary struggle more energetically so as to overthrow the old system. This is the way for the working class of the capitalist countries to achieve their class emancipation and to contribute to the national-liberation movement in colonies.

Colonies are the life line of the imperialists and their last strongholds. The imperialists will not give them up of their own accord, nor will they make a gift of independence. The peoples of the colonial countries must combine their strength and wage a resolute, do-or-die struggle to drive the imperialists out and win complete freedom and independence

The newly independent countries that have thrown off the yoke of imperialism are confronted with the weighty task of safeguarding their national independence, carrying the revolution forward, and assisting the liberation struggle of the peoples of the countries still in imperialist fetters. The peoples who have won independence must abrogate all the shackling treaties and

agreements and military alliances concluded with the imperialists, eliminate the political and economic footholds which foreign imperialists and their accomplices—the domestic reactionary forces—can rely on in their underhand manoeuvres, and rally the revolutionary forces to effect the revolutionary reform of society. In particular, they must be clear on the true nature of the neocolonialist policy pursued by the imperialists in the political, economic, military and cultural domains and thoroughly expose and frustrate it, and should not be caught in their trap again. This is the only way they can firmly defend their revolutionary gains, achieve national prosperity and contribute to the common cause of the people of the whole world, the burial of imperialism.

The international democratic and peace movements hold a very important place today on the common anti-imperialist, anti-US front. These movements unite hundreds of millions of working people and progressive personalities in the world. Peace-loving people throughout the world must fight more stubbornly for a lasting peace and a bright future for mankind and to check and frustrate the imperialist policy of aggression and war.

When all the revolutionary forces of the world dynamically wage the anti-imperialist, anti-US struggle on every front they hold, imperialism will be wiped out once and for all and the people of every country will achieve genuine national independence and social progress.

Esteemed delegates,

As you all know, this international conference of journalists opens at a grave moment when the US imperialists have become more rabid in their aggressive manoeuvres and the revolutionary people of the world are faced with the weighty, historic task of combatting US imperialism more resolutely than ever before. This is a good time for the delegates of progressive journalists from the five continents, who regard it as a sacred duty to fight for the just revolutionary cause of the people, to meet together today to discuss how to struggle against US imperialist aggres-

sion. This fully conforms to the aspirations of the revolutionary people of the world.

This conference will enhance the militant role of progressive journalists throughout the world in the struggle against the US imperialists and will thus arouse the masses of the people in the vigorous anti-imperialist, anti-US struggle and contribute greatly to their common cause of socialism and national independence, peace and democracy.

Progressive journalists and publications—the advocates and propagators of advanced ideas and the mouthpieces and organizers of public opinion—play a very great and inspiring role in social revolution and construction.

As everyone knows, it is the people who create history and push it forward. But this does not mean in any way that they join in the revolutionary struggle spontaneously. Only when they are armed with revolutionary consciousness and devote themselves to the bloody struggle to destroy the ruling circles of the old society can they truly become the main force of revolution, the powerful motive force of social development and the worthy creator of a new historical era. In any revolutionary movement, the higher the level of consciousness of the masses who take part in it, the greater their force and the more decisive their role in the revolutionary struggle. It is the progressives representing the interests of the masses who should infuse the latter with revolutionary consciousness and enlighten them with progressive ideas. The progressive personalities fighting for the masses of the people arm them with the revolutionary idea of overthrowing the old system and building a new society, put up correct fighting slogans, encourage and rally them, and arouse them to vigorous revolutionary struggle

Progressive journalists—those masters of advanced ideas and fighters who love justice and truth and bring to light all manner of injustices and social evil—have never failed to correctly grasp the objective requirements of social development

and have firmly taken up their revolutionary pens to defend the interests of the progressive classes. And they have bitterly denounced the decaying old system and inexorably condemned the moribund reactionary ruling classes to their doom.

The progressive journalists have shed much blood and fought heroically, in the arena of this sacred struggle, defying all of the reactionaries' harsh suppression. Even in prison and on the gallows they have fought bravely to the last moment of their lives without abandoning revolutionary principles. Thus, journalists have performed immortal feats that will go down in the history of the struggle for the liberation of mankind. The people pay high tribute to these revolutionary journalists who shed their precious blood in the sacred battle for the liberation of mankind, and will long remember what they did.

By inheriting these splendid traditions of your forerunners, you progressive journalists have taken on the heavy but honourable tasks of scathingly condemning the crimes of US imperialism which blocks the way to the freedom and liberation of mankind, and of rousing the people of the world courageously to join in the decisive battle against US imperialism, the most vicious common enemy of humanity.

Progressive journalists the world over should fully expose the US imperialists' policy of aggression and war and reveal their brutal nature in all its rawness. In this way, they will be able to turn widespread public opinion against US imperialism everywhere in the world. There must not be even the slightest illusion about US imperialism. History clearly shows that spreading illusions about US imperialism and preaching unprincipled compromise with it only leads to dulling the revolutionary vigilance of the people, making the US imperialists more arrogant and insolent, high-handed and outrageous, and encouraging their schemes of aggression and war. The progressive journalists should widely propagate among the broad masses the plain truth that a firm fight against imperialism should be waged

to the end and that only it is through determined and stubborn struggle against the imperialist policy of aggression and war that colonial fetters can be thrown off, independence won, revolutionary gains defended and consolidated, and a durable peace preserved.

Along with this, they should educate the masses to reject ideas of worshipping and kowtowing to, fearing and submitting to and depending on America, and imbue them with implacable hatred for US imperialism. The reactionary ideology of US imperialism is an instrument for debasing people ideologically and deforming them politically. Progressive journalists, the representatives of advanced ideas, should steadfastly repel its reactionary ideological and cultural offensive.

When the revolutionary consciousness of the masses is enhanced through the energetic writings of progressive journalists on the ideological front, they will fight more tenaciously to crush US imperialism, mankind's worst enemy.

Active support of the people of all countries and all regions in their struggle against the imperialist forces of aggression headed by the US imperialists is the bounden revolutionary duty of the progressive journalists of the world.

Aggression by the US and other imperialists against the revolutionary people of the world is also a vicious attack on and a challenge to the men of the press who are fighting for the cause of the liberation of mankind. To defend freedom of speech and of the press and their rights and interests, journalists should always breathe the same air and think in the same way as the Vietnamese and other heroic peoples of the world who are fighting arms in hand against the US imperialist aggressors, as the people who are gallantly building a new life while resolutely thwarting the subversive schemes of foreign aggressors and domestic reactionaries, and as the working people of all countries who have gone into the streets to resist and denounce the US imperialists. So all articles, critiques and

political essays written by journalists should serve as convincing indictments summoning the US imperialists before the court of history and a powerful militant banner inspiring the masses of the people to wage a struggle of resistance against US imperialism and for national salvation.

For the international movement of progressive journalists to develop soundly and achieve its aim, they should be firmly united under the banner of anti-imperialist, anti-US struggle. Though these journalists of all countries live under different social systems and their party affiliations and political views, customs and religious beliefs, nationality and colour, written and spoken language are different, they are comrades-in-arms standing on the same front with the common idea and goal of fighting against US imperialism for peace and democracy, national independence and social progress. Only under the banner of anti-imperialist, anti-US struggle, can the world's progressive journalists be broadly united and can the international journalist movement contribute to the cause of justice of the world's people effectively as a militant revolutionary movement. All such journalists in the world should combine their strength in the struggle against US imperialism and should denounce it in one voice.

I am firmly confident that through the sincere joint efforts of the delegates, this international journalists' conference will reach agreement on the ways to combat US imperialist aggression and will achieve the desired results, living up to the expectations and hopes of revolutionary people and progressive journalists throughout the world. I hope the conference will thus write a glorious page in the annals of the struggle of the world's journalists against imperialism and colonialism.

Dear delegates,

You are not only delegates to the International Conference on the Tasks of Journalists of the Whole World in Their Fight against the Aggression of US Imperialism but you are also our distinguished guests.

Our people, who are constantly threatened by direct US imperialist aggression, receive great encouragement from the fact that anti-imperialist fighters have come from so many countries to attend this conference in Pyongyang, the capital of our country.

The US imperialists have occupied half of our country for more than 20 years, maintaining a most reactionary, colonial fascist military rule in south Korea. They have turned south Korea into a total colony, into a military base for invading the whole of Korea and Asia and, then, all the socialist countries. They have trampled even the elementary democratic freedom and vital rights of the south Korean people underfoot and plunged them into a living hell ridden with famine, poverty, terrorism and murder. The US imperialists and their faithful stooge, the puppet clique of south Korea, are making every vicious attempt to perpetuate the division of Korea and smother the national aspirations the entire north and south Korean people cherish for the reunification of the country. The occupation of south Korea by the US imperialists and their policy of aggression are the root cause of all our nation's misery, the main obstacle to the reunification of our country and a constant source of war in Korea. The supreme national task of the Korean people is to drive the US imperialist aggressor army out of south Korea, accomplish the national-liberation revolution and achieve the reunification of the country.

The progressive journalists all over the world, and you in particular, have shown deep understanding of and sympathy for the Korean people's just cause and always strongly denounced the US imperialist policy of aggression and war on the Korean peninsula. During the Fatherland Liberation War, which was caused by the US imperialists with the piratical design to swallow up the whole of Korea, the world's progressive journalists condemned their criminal atrocities and gave active support and encouragement to our people as they rose to defend the coun-

try's freedom and independence, national dignity and revolutionary gains. Even today the progressive journalists are using their powerful pen in support of the Korean people's just struggle to drive out the US imperialists and reunify the artificially divided country. The International Journalist Prize awarded in the name of the progressive journalists of the world to Comrade Kim Jong Tae, an indomitable revolutionary fighter and impassioned journalist born of the Korean people, is another expression of their great support for our people's just anti-imperialist revolutionary struggle. I should like to express my deep gratitude to you for this, on behalf of the entire Korean people.

Our people receive you as true friends, as reliable comrades-in-arms. Everywhere you go during your stay in our country, they will give you a warm welcome and you will see for yourselves their ardent desire to strengthen militant solidarity with the revolutionary people of the world.

Because of our similar position in the past and our common fighting goals, the Korean people have always stood firmly by the oppressed and supported their struggle for freedom and liberation in every way. Our people's militant friendship and solidarity with the revolutionary people of the world are further strengthened today. We regard this as an important guarantee of victory for our revolution and will continue, in the future too, to strive tirelessly for firm militant solidarity with the peoples of all countries at the anti-imperialist, anti-US battle front.

In conclusion, I should like to extend my militant greetings to you here present who are devotedly engaged in mankind's sacred revolutionary cause and, through you, to the progressive journalists of the whole world, and sincerely wish the revolutionary journalists, who are ardent anti-imperialist political activists, even greater success in their fruitful work.

THE REVOLUTIONARY PEOPLES OF ASIA WILL WIN IN THEIR COMMON STRUGGLE AGAINST US IMPERIALISM

Speech at the Pyongyang Mass Meeting Welcoming Samdech Norodom Sihanouk, Head of State of Cambodia and Chairman of the National United Front of Kampuchea

August 6, 1971

Esteemed Samdech Norodom Sihanouk and Princess Monique Sihanouk,
Esteemed and distinguished guests from Cambodia,
Comrades and friends,

*Today people of all walks of life in Pyongyang have gath*ered here with great joy to meet Samdech Norodom Sihanouk, Head of State of Cambodia and Chairman of the National United Front of Kampuchea (NUFK), now on a state visit to our country, and other distinguished Cambodian guests.

First, in the name of the Central Committee of the Workers' Party of Korea, *the Government of the Democratic People's Re*public of Korea and the entire Korean people allow me to once again warmly welcome Head of State Samdech Norodom Sihanouk, the outstanding leader of the Cambodian people, a staunch anti-imperialist fighter and our very close friend, and

Princess Monique Sihanouk, the family and relatives of Samdech, and other Cambodian guests.

Allow me also to send our warmest militant greetings through you to the National Liberation People's Armed Forces of Cambodia (NLPAFC) and the entire patriotic Cambodian people who are fighting heroically against the US imperialist aggressors and their stooges.

Samdech Head of State is paying another state visit to our country. This is one more epochal event demonstrating the indestructible, militant friendship and solidarity between Korea and Cambodia.

Everywhere you have been our people have warmly welcomed you with the happy feeling of brothers meeting again after a long separation. This is a vivid expression of our people's high respect for Samdech Head of State and of their firm, militant solidarity with the embattled Cambodian people.

Today Korea and Cambodia are linked on the common front against the common enemy, US imperialism.

Samdech Norodom Sihanouk has brought us the Cambodian people's fraternal friendship for the Korean people as well as news of the brilliant victories of the Cambodian people in their war of resistance against US aggression and for national salvation. This has been a new and great inspiration to our people.

As Samdech Head of State has said, in their selfless and heroic armed struggle against the US imperialist aggressors and their puppet mercenaries the NLPAFC has already completely liberated seven-tenths of the country inhabited by 4 million out of the total population of 7 million. This victory has very great political and military importance. During the nine months of the last dry season alone the NLPAFC dealt the aggressors and their puppets one annihilating blow after another in different parts of Cambodia and turned the liberated areas into a reliable base for liberating the entire country.

We heartily rejoice over these successes of the fraternal

Cambodian people considering them our own victory and warmly hail them.

The victories of the Cambodian people are entirely due to the correct leadership of Samdech Norodom Sihanouk and the NUFK. In particular, they are unthinkable apart from the great exploits Samdech Head of State has performed by consistently pursuing anti-imperialist, patriotic, just policies in the past and apart from the deep trust he enjoys among the people. Today when US imperialism and its stooges have forced a bitter war on them, the patriotic Cambodian people have deeply realized through their own experience that the internal and external policies followed by Samdech Head of State in the past were fully correct. They respect him more deeply and are fighting valiantly and rallying around him more firmly with each passing day.

At present, too, along with the historic 5-point statement of Samdech Head of State dated March 23, 1970, his well-loved, vigorous voice resounds throughout Cambodia every day, calling upon the people to rise as one in the just struggle against US imperialism and its stooges, inspiring those who are fighting with infinite strength and courage and striking great terror in the enemy.

Samdech Norodom Sihanouk said, "Under the banner of the NUFK and the leadership of the Royal Government of National Union of Cambodia, the Cambodian people will fight on against the US imperialists without compromise, never yielding until the motherland is completely liberated."

In his 24th and 25th messages to the Cambodian people, Samdech Norodom Sihanouk again solemnly pointed to the determination of the NUFK and the Royal Government of National Union of Cambodia to lead the Cambodian people to final victory in their sacred war to resist US aggression and save the nation.

As a valiant anti-imperialist fighter and ardent defender of the people's cause of freedom and liberation, Samdech Norodom

Sihanouk enjoys the deep trust and positive support of peace-loving people throughout the world.

Thanks to this trust, the Royal Government of National Union under the leadership of the NUFK has already been officially recognized by 27 sovereign states as the only legitimate government of the Cambodian people. Its international position is becoming increasingly unshakable.

In the international arena today it is only natural that those countries which genuinely uphold the anti-imperialist banner and support the national-liberation struggle should recognize the Royal Government of National Union of Cambodia led by Samdech Norodom Sihanouk and resolutely reject the traitorous Lon Nol-Sirik Matak clique, the stooges of US imperialism.

The fighting spirit of the patriotic Cambodian people is very high and the road to glorious, final victory stretches wide before them.

Encircled in the small area of Pnom Penh, the traitorous Lon Nol-Sirik Matak clique, the stooges of US imperialism, are floundering in ever-increasing confusion and despair, and their days are numbered. This is a stark fact which even the press in the service of the US imperialists admits.

We once again express our conviction that the Cambodian people will soon completely liberate their motherland and build a new, independent, peaceful, anti-imperialist and prosperous people's Cambodia with Samdech Norodom Sihanouk as its Head of State.

The victories so far won by the Cambodian people in their struggle against US imperialism and its stooges are a great contribution to the anti-imperialist liberation struggle of oppressed nations all over the world and a valuable support to our people's anti-US struggle.

In whatever part of the world the US imperialist aggressors are defeated, it is a very good thing for all peoples of the world.

The Government of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea and the Korean people regard US imperialist aggression against Cambodia as aggression against themselves. They have exerted all their efforts to assist the Cambodian people. We once again solemnly declare that we are ready to take any measures necessary to help the Cambodian people whenever Samdech Norodom Sihanouk and the Royal Government of National Union under the leadership of the NUFK ask us to do so.

The Cambodian and other Indochinese peoples are not just fighting for the complete liberation and independence of their countries, they are also shedding their blood to defend peace in Asia and the world.

Having sustained one defeat after another in their war of aggression in South Viet Nam, the US imperialists spread the flames of the war to the Democratic Republic of Viet Nam, Cambodia and Laos. But the aggressors are only digging their own graves.

The indomitable and heroic struggle of the Indochinese peoples, firmly united under the militant banner of the Summit Conference of the Indochinese Peoples held on the initiative of Samdech Norodom Sihanouk, Head of State, has bankrupted the US imperialists' plan for the "Vietnamization" of the war and their manoeuvres to "make Indochinese fight Indochinese" being carried out under the signboard of the notorious "Nixon doctrine".

With indomitable heroism, the Vietnamese people have frustrated the barbarous invasion of the US imperialists and once again smashed the myth of the "invincibility" of US imperialism. This has made a great contribution to the cause of peace, national independence and socialism of the progressive people of the world. Upholding the sacred testament of Comrade Ho Chi Minh, the Vietnamese people are fighting staunchly on all fronts in order to hasten the day of complete victory in their war to save the nation from US aggression

This year the Laotian people gallantly crushed the large-scale US imperialist invasion of Southern Laos and won a brilliant new victory. They are carrying on the liberation war successfully, dealing the enemy one blow after another.

The US defence department's secret document on their war of aggression in Viet Nam, recently exposed in the United States, more fully disclosed to the people of the world the undeniable fact that the criminal authors of the war of aggression in Indochina are the US imperialists and no one else.

There are no reasons or grounds whatsoever for the US imperialists to hang on in Indochina. They must stop their war of aggression in Indochina at once, and unconditionally withdraw all their ground, naval and air forces of aggression, all troops of their satellite countries and puppets, and all lethal weapons and means of war.

We take this opportunity to express our full solidarity with the fraternal Vietnamese and Laotian peoples in their righteous national-salvation struggle against US imperialism and its stooges. We actively support the 7-point proposal for the peaceful settlement of the Viet Nam question recently put forward by the Provisional Revolutionary Government of the Republic of South Viet Nam at the Paris Conference on Viet Nam and the new proposals for the solution of the Laotian question advanced last April 27 and June 22 by the Laotian Patriotic Front.

We are convinced that the peoples of the three Indochinese countries, enjoying the active support and encouragement of all the revolutionary peoples of Asia and the rest of the world, will resolutely fight until they vanquish the US imperialist aggressors to the last man and win a glorious final victory.

Comrades and friends,

Today Asia is the region where the revolutionary storm is the fiercest. It is the main arena of the anti-imperialist revolutionary struggle and it is here that imperialism's life line is being cut off.

Since there are many revolutionary and embattled countries in Asia and their unity is strong, the US imperialists have directed the spearhead of their aggression against Asia, employing all manner of aggressive manoeuvres to blockade and attack Asia's socialist countries and check the rapidly growing national-liberation movement. But, in face of the united and decisive counterattack of the peoples in this region, the US imperialists have sustained defeat after defeat and this has driven them into such a tight corner that they can no longer stay on in Asia. The US imperialist policy of aggression in Asia is faced with total bankruptcy.

Everything that has happened from the time the US imperialists suffered miserable military defeat in their war of aggression against Korea—the first ever in the US history—and began to slide downhill, to today when they are suffering heavy defeats at the hands of the valiant Indochinese peoples, shows that no manoeuvres, however desperate, can save them from their doom, hold back the people's liberation struggles or halt the victorious advance of socialism.

US imperialism is now confronted with an ever more serious crisis at home and abroad. In the United States, the anti-war and anti-government movements are gaining momentum on a mass scale, economic stagnation and inflation continue, unemployment is growing and the international balance of payments is constantly being aggravated. Social unrest increases day by day and the contradictions within the ruling circles have become extremely sharp. The weakness of the military strategy being pursued by the US imperialists, who have dispersed their aggressive armed forces and deployed them in all parts of the world, is becoming more and more apparent, and the contradictions among the imperialist powers in their scramble for markets and spheres of influence are intensifying with each passing day. US imperialism is constantly being hit and mauled not only in Indochina but everywhere in the world

In a desperate effort to save themselves from ruin, the US imperialists advanced the notorious "Nixon doctrine", clamouring about what they call a change in policy, but are actually resorting to more cunning and adventurous schemes of aggression. This too is doomed to failure.

In attacking the revolutionary forces of Asia, the US imperialists went to great efforts to blockade and strangle the People's Republic of China.

When the people's revolution triumphed in China, the US imperialists refused to recognize the People's Republic of China but took a hostile attitude towards it from the first days of its existence. Mobilizing all reactionary forces, they used every vicious manoeuvre to blockade and isolate it. They occupied Taiwan, an inseparable part of the sacred territory of the People's Republic of China, synchronizing this with their war of aggression in Korea, ceaselessly threatened the Chinese people with military invasion and committed incessant hostile acts against them.

But all this has come to nothing. In spite of US imperialism's policy of blockade and isolation the People's Republic of China, far from being strangled, has steadily grown stronger. Today it stands imposingly in Asia as a socialist power and mighty anti-imperialist revolutionary force.

In recent years it has become an irresistible world trend to recognize the People's Republic of China as the sole legitimate government of the Chinese people and to establish diplomatic relations with it. The US imperialists' policy of blockading China has come to a shameful end.

Thus US imperialism has been driven into a blind alley internally and externally. Under these circumstances Nixon recently announced his plan to visit China.

This means that the hostile policy towards China which the US imperialists have recklessly pursued for more than 20 years in order to check by "force" the great revolutionary

changes in China—a country with nearly a quarter of the world's population—has finally gone bankrupt. It means that the US imperialists have at last succumbed to the pressure of the mighty anti-imperialist revolutionary forces of the world.

In the last analysis, Nixon will be turning up in Peking with a white flag, just as the US imperialist aggressors came out to Panmunjom with a white flag after their defeat in the Korean war.

All facts show that imperialism is collapsing at a very great speed in our time.

Nixon's plan to visit China has aroused quite varied responses on the part of world public opinion.

His visit will not be the march of a victor but a trip of the defeated, and it fully reflects the decline of US imperialism. This is a great victory for the Chinese people and a victory for the revolutionary people of the world.

The Communist Party of China and the Chinese people are seasoned and tempered. They have a glorious tradition of protracted anti-imperialist revolutionary struggle. They possess rich fighting experience in countering the enemy's spear with a spear of their own and defeating him and in outmanoeuvring him by adhering to revolutionary principle when he resorts to deceptive tactics. The People's Republic of China, as a reliable pillar of the anti-imperialist revolutionary forces in Asia, is fighting resolutely against the policies of aggression and war of the imperialists headed by the US imperialists. Holding fast to the principle of proletarian internationalism, it actively supports all the revolutionary peoples of Asia and the rest of the world who oppose the US imperialist aggressors. The Government of the People's Republic of China makes it clear that it will continue to adhere steadfastly and unwaveringly to revolutionary principle and actively support and encourage the embattled revolutionary peoples.

With Nixon's plan to visit China, the imperialist camp is

relapsing anew into further confusion and disintegration. Japan's Prime Minister Sato, who has closely followed US imperialism and outdone everyone in pursuing a hostile policy towards the People's Republic of China, is frantically trying to hide the bankruptcy of his reactionary policy. Deeply upset, he utters contradictory remarks almost daily. Other satellite countries and puppets, having blindly followed US imperialism, are at a complete loss. In particular, the Chiang Kai-shek clique and the south Korean puppet gang are raising a hue and cry, overcome as they are with great uneasiness and fear.

Every day finds the general situation turning more and more in favour of us revolutionary people.

The present situation requires the people of all the revolutionary countries, including those in actual combat, to unite closely, mount a fiercer attack on the imperialists in their chaotic decline and finally cut imperialism's windpipe.

As historical experience shows, the aggressive nature of imperialism never changes even when its strength has ebbed. The imperialists never withdraw from their old positions of their own accord. The deeper they sink into a quagmire, the more stubbornly they cling to double-dealing tactics, waving an olive branch in one hand and brandishing a bayonet in the other, and the more vicious they become in manoeuvring for aggression and war under the cloak of peace.

Owing to the continued aggressive acts of the US imperialists, the flames of war have not yet been quenched in Indochina. In Korea the US imperialists are ceaselessly perpetrating military provocations in an attempt to unleash another war and they keep on whipping up tension in Asia.

The revival of Japanese militarism by US imperialism is making the Asian situation more and more acute.

From the US-Japan "joint statement" in November 1969 to the automatic renewal of the US-Japan "security pact" and the recent signing of the US-Japan "agreement on the return of

Okinawa", all the facts show that the US imperialists have already openly put up the Japanese militarists as a shock force for aggression in Asia in accordance with the "Nixon doctrine". A while ago, they sent their defence secretary to Japan and south Korea to weave plots to expand the Japanese armed forces of aggression in a big way for use instead of US troops in their aggressive operations against Asia and to perfect the "system of US-Japan-south Korea joint operations" in south Korea.

The revived Japanese militarists are stepping up fascistization at home in a vain attempt to realize their old dream of a "Greater East Asia Co-Prosperity Sphere" by using the "new Asia policy" of the US imperialists for "making Asians fight Asians", and are openly revealing their wild ambition for overseas aggression. Every time they open their mouths, the Japanese reactionary ruling circles claim that Japan should play the "leading role in Asia". They are openly speeding up their plots for hurling Japanese armed forces of aggression into the Korean "front", proclaiming that a vast area of Asia covering south Korea, Taiwan and Indochina is their "defence sphere".

Today imperialism is dying. We should bury it by maintaining high vigilance against the desperate double-dealing tactics of the enemy and smashing all his sinister schemes in good time.

We stress that if war is to be prevented in Asia, and if tension is to be removed and genuine peace achieved, the US imperialist aggressors must get out of south Korea, Taiwan, Indochina, Japan and all other parts of Asia where they have established footholds. They must give up their scheme of "making Asians fight Asians" by arming satellite countries and puppets. The US and Japanese reactionaries must stop suppressing the national-liberation struggle of the other peoples and interfering in their internal affairs. The questions of each country must be left to its people themselves to settle

If the US imperialists and the Japanese militarists refuse to withdraw and persist in their aggressive moves, they will be chased out everywhere by the united struggle of the people.

In order to thwart their present-day schemes for aggression and war in Asia, it is especially important to strengthen the anti-imperialist, anti-US united front of the peoples of the revolutionary Asian countries who are the direct victims of their aggression.

The militant solidarity of the revolutionary peoples of Asia is the product of history. It has been cemented and developed through hard-fought struggles against the imperialist aggressors. The new aggressive intrigues of the US imperialists and the Japanese militarists are making the people of Korea, Cambodia, China, Viet Nam, Laos and other revolutionary Asian countries unite more solidly.

The Korean and Chinese people have always fought shoulder to shoulder, taking concerted action on a common front against the US imperialists and their stooges. Real life experience has taught them that their destinies are inseparable. The aggressive and bellicose plots of the US imperialists and the Japanese militarists who are conspiring and colluding together in Asia are daily becoming more undisguised. The people of Korea and China are making fuller preparations to deal jointly with any enemy invasion, continuing to be revolutionary comrades-in-arms and fraternal allies now and in the future as they were in the past when they fought victoriously side by side, sharing life and death, weal and woe in one and the same trench.

Only a short time ago, on the 10th anniversary of the Korean-Chinese Treaty of Friendship, Cooperation and Mutual Assistance, Party and government delegations were exchanged between our two countries and big mass meetings were held in the capital cities, Pyongyang and Peking, and in many other places. These celebrations once again demonstrated before the

whole world the unshakable determination of the Korean and Chinese people to fight together to the last and defeat US imperialism and Japanese militarism.

The fraternal friendship and solidarity between the Korean and Chinese people which were sealed in blood and stood all the tests of history, are indestructible. In the future, too, our people will march forever side by side with the fraternal Chinese people in the struggle against the common enemy.

In order to defeat the imperialists headed by the US imperialists, solidarity should be strengthened not only between the people of the countries making revolution in Asia but between the people of all countries making revolution. Continuing to hold aloft the banner of Marxism-Leninism, the revolutionary banner of the anti-imperialist, anti-US struggle, we will fight more vigorously for the victory of our common cause in unity with the people of the socialist countries and the revolutionary people of Asia, Africa and Latin America and all other parts of the world.

Our people actively support the Japanese and other Asian peoples in their struggle against US imperialism and the revival of Japanese militarism The Korean people express their firm solidarity with all the Arab peoples, including the Palestinian people, in their struggle against the US imperialists and their stooges, the Israeli aggressors, and with the African peoples in their struggle against imperialism, colonialism and racism and for freedom, liberation and the consolidation of national independence. Our people resolutely support the struggle of the Cuban people who are successfully building socialism while smashing the incessant acts of aggression and subversion of US imperialism. We resolutely support the anti-US, anti-dictatorship struggle of the Latin-American peoples. We express our firm solidarity with the anti-imperialist, anti-US struggle of the people of all countries of the world.

Even though US imperialism is now putting on a show of

power, if all the revolutionary peoples of the world join in dismembering it everywhere, it will eventually be smashed.

If the Japanese militarists, blinded by their aggressive ambitions, follow their old path of aggression again, instead of drawing a lesson from the bitter and ignominious defeat in the Second World War, they too will be unable to escape the miserable fate of their final downfall.

Comrades and friends,

For the final victory of the Korean revolution we should strengthen and develop our own internal revolutionary force in every way, while at the same time strengthening our solidarity with the international revolutionary forces.

Today the US imperialists are still entrenched in south Korea, refusing to withdraw and are making desperate efforts to make Koreans fight Koreans. The Japanese militarists with the backing of the US imperialists are stepping up their scheme to invade our country again. Under these circumstances we must not slacken vigilance even for a moment. We must continue to direct great efforts to strengthening our defence capacity, as well as stepping up socialist economic construction in order to make the defence of our fatherland impregnable in any emergency.

Holding aloft the banner of the Juche idea, under the wise leadership of our Party our people have followed the revolutionary line of independence, self-support and self-defence, and thereby successfully carried out the historic task of socialist industrialization and built up a defence potential strong enough to crush the imperialists any time they attack us.

Encouraged by the successes scored in the northern half of the Republic, the south Korean people are waging a staunch struggle to overthrow the military fascist dictatorship of the US imperialists and their lackeys, shatter the Japanese militarists' scheme to invade our country again and attain freedom, liberation and the reunification of our fatherland. They are dealing heavy blows at the colonial rule of the US imperialists.

Alarmed by a situation which is developing more and more in favour of the revolution as the days go by, the puppet clique of south Korea clings as always to the coattails of the US imperialists and relies all the more on the Japanese militarists in a vain attempt to put off their doom. In an attempt to cover up their treacherous nature and stifle the movement for peaceful reunification mounting with irresistible force among the south Korean people, they are noisily advertizing their fraudulent "peaceful reunification programme". This stupid ruse, however, can fool no one, nor can it save the south Korean puppet clique from a doom already sealed.

The Government of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea has made consistent efforts to bring about the peaceful reunification of Korea. Again last April it advanced an 8-point programme for independent, peaceful reunification.

This time, too, the US imperialists and the south Korean puppet clique have not replied to our fair and just programme for peaceful reunification—a programme reflecting the unanimous desire of the entire nation—and are only indulging in empty talk about peaceful reunification. If the south Korean rulers truly want peaceful reunification, to begin with they must not plead for the permanent stationing of US troops but make them withdraw from south Korea. They must stop colluding with the Japanese militarists and bringing them into south Korea. They must stop suppressing the political parties, social organizations and democratic personages of south Korea who call for peaceful reunification but enable them to come out for north-south negotiations for the reunification of the country. They must proceed from the stand that the Korean question must be solved by the Koreans themselves.

Apart from the question as to whether or not the south Korean rulers accept our 8-point peaceful reunification programme, if they truly want reunification, why are they afraid of contacts and negotiations between the north and the south?

We are ready to establish contact at any time with all political parties, including the Democratic Republican Party, and all social organizations and individual personages in south Korea.

If the south Korean rulers refuse even initial contacts between the north and the south and only give lip service to peaceful reunification, it will stir up more bitter hatred and wrath among the people. They are openly claiming that the question of reunification can only be discussed after 1973 when their "strength is built up" or even in the second half of the 1970's. Their motive is to bring in the revived Japanese militarists into south Korea in full force by that time and then realize their wild ambition of "reunification by prevailing over communism".

Our people will continue to struggle strenuously to step up socialist construction in the northern half of the Republic, to bring about the south Korean revolution by assisting the south Korean people and to get the question of reunification solved independently by the Korean people themselves on a democratic basis and in a peaceful way.

The Korean people's just struggle to force the US imperialist aggressors to withdraw from south Korea, remove tensions in Korea and attain the independent, peaceful reunification of our country, is bound to triumph with the constantly growing support and encouragement of the peace-loving people the world over.

Samdech Norodom Sihanouk and the Kingdom of Cambodia, standing from long ago firmly on the side of the Korean people in their opposition to the US imperialists and their lackeys, have recognized the Democratic People's Republic of Korea as the only legitimate state of the Korean people and have actively supported and encouraged the Government of our Republic and the Korean people in their struggle to force the US imperialist aggressor troops to withdraw from south Korea and to achieve the independent, peaceful reunification of our fatherland.

Let me express warm thanks to Samdech Norodom Sihanouk, the National United Front of Kampuchea and the Royal Government of National Union of Cambodia for this.

The Korean and Cambodian people are bound with firm ties of militant friendship through their common struggle against imperialism headed by US imperialism and for the building of a new life.

Our people are very happy to have such a resourceful and courageous people as the Cambodian people as their close friends and they set great store by the friendship and solidarity between the people of the two countries. The present visit of Samdech Norodom Sihanouk to our country is a new and great contribution not only to intensifying our joint anti-US struggle and cementing and developing the militant friendship and solidarity between our two peoples but also to strengthening and developing the anti-imperialist, anti-US united front of the peoples of the revolutionary countries in Asia and promoting the cause of the revolutionary peoples of the world. This gives us great satisfaction.

Lastly, I reaffirm that our people will fight for ever shoulder to shoulder with the Cambodian people in the joint anti-US struggle and remain their reliable comrades-in-arms and allies. It is my sincere wish that the courageous Cambodian people, under the wise leadership of esteemed Samdech Norodom Sihanouk, will win further brilliant victories in their struggle against US aggression and for national salvation

Long live the indestructible militant friendship and solidarity between the Korean and Cambodian people!

Long live the National United Front of Kampuchea, with Samdech Norodom Sihanouk as its Chairman, and the Royal Government of National Union of Cambodia!

Long live the solidarity of the revolutionary peoples of Asia!

Long live the solidarity of the people of the world!

LET US PREVENT A NATIONAL SPLIT AND REUNIFY THE COUNTRY

Speech at the Pyongyang Mass Rally to Welcome the Party and Government Delegation of the Czechoslovak Socialist Republic

June 23, 1973

Esteemed Comrade Gustav Husak,
Esteemed Comrade Lubomir Strougal,
Esteemed guests from Czechoslovakia,
Dear comrades and friends,

The people of all strata in Pyongyang city have gathered here today, overjoyed to meet you goodwill envoys from the brotherly country of Czechoslovakia.

In the name of the Central Committee of the Workers' Party of Korea, the Government of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea and the Korean people, I would like first to reiterate my warm welcome to the Party and government delegation of the Czechoslovak Socialist Republic led by Comrade Gustav Husak, General Secretary of the Central Committee of the Czechoslovak Communist Party.

Allow me also to convey, through you, the Korean people's warm greetings of fraternal friendship to the Czechoslovak people.

We highly appreciate the visit to our country by a Party

and government delegation of the highest level from Czechoslovakia as an expression of the deep friendship cherished by the Czechoslovak people for our people, as a manifestation of firm solidarity with their struggle for socialist construction and national reunification.

Your current visit to our country marks a milestone in deepening mutual understanding between the peoples of the two countries and uplifting their relations of friendship and cooperation to a new stage.

Our meeting with you has acquainted us better with the course of arduous yet brilliant struggle traversed by the Czechoslovak people, their achievements in the building of socialism and the prospect of the struggle of your Party and people.

As a people living in the heart of the European continent *historically plagued with conflicts between nations*, the Czechoslovak people waged long-drawn dynamic battles against foreign invaders and for national independence and social emancipation. In the hard days when the Hitlerite fascists were occupying the country, the Communists and patriotic people of Czechoslovakia carried out a gallant anti-fascist struggle for liberation with arms in their hands.

Even after fascist Germany was routed and the country liberated, the Czechoslovak people carried on complicated struggles. The Czechoslovak people, who took the road towards socialism following the February Victory in 1948, have turned their country into a socialist state with a developed industry in a short span of time by displaying patriotic devotion and creative activity and safeguarded their gains of revolution, shattering the repeated subversive and sabotaging manoeuvrings of the class enemies.

Under the leadership of the Central Committee of the Czechoslovak Communist Party headed by Comrade Gustav Husak the Czechoslovak people are now making great strides in their endeavour to bring about fresh progress in the national econo-

my, raise the people's living standard and overfulfil the Fifth Five-Year Plan, in accordance with the programme of the 14th Congress of the Czechoslovak Communist Party to consolidate and develop the socialist society on a fuller scale.

Czechoslovakia is daily expanding the sphere of its activity in the field of international relations, too.

Our people heartily rejoice over all the successes made by the brotherly Czechoslovak people in the building of a new society and sincerely wish them ever greater victory in their future struggle.

Our people also express solidarity with the Communist Party, Government and people of Czechoslovakia in their efforts against the imperialists' war policy and for peace and security in Europe.

Through their own experiences our people know well that the road to socialism is by no means a smooth one.

After liberation our people embarked on the building of a new society under the difficult situation in which our country was divided into two parts because of the US imperialist occupation of south Korea. Under our Party's leadership, our people, frustrating the uninterrupted manoeuvres of US imperialism and its running dogs for aggression and war, have turned, in a short span of time, their once backward country into an advanced socialist state by successfully carrying out the democratic revolution and the socialist revolution and building an independent national economy.

Upholding the grand programme mapped out by the Fifth Congress of the Party, our people are now bringing about a great revolutionary upswing on all fronts of socialist construction to fulfil ahead of schedule the Six-Year Plan and the three major tasks of the technical revolution and to achieve the independent, peaceful reunification of the country, while accelerating the revolutionization and the working-classization of the whole society by giving priority to the ideological revolution.

Korea and Czechoslovakia embarked on the building of socialism under different conditions after the Second World War, but the common experience accumulated by the two countries vividly demonstrates that the only way to bring the working people genuine freedom and independence, happiness and prosperity is to take the road to socialism.

The Korean and Czechoslovak peoples have long maintained the firm ties of friendship and closely cooperated for the common goal of struggle against imperialism and for the victory of the cause of peace and socialism. This friendship based on the principles of Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism displayed greater vitality whenever the two peoples faced difficulties and trials in the way of their advance.

The Czechoslovak people rendered great assistance, both material and moral, to our people during the Fatherland Liberation War against the US imperialist aggressors and during the period of postwar rehabilitation and construction. We always remember this.

The Czechoslovak people are still giving active support and assistance to our people's struggle to build socialism and achieve the independent, peaceful reunification of the country. Sometime ago the Federal Assembly of the Czechoslovak Socialist Republic, in its reply to the letter addressed by our Supreme People's Assembly to the parliaments and governments of all countries, positively appreciated our policy of peaceful reunification and gave assurance that it would continue to render active support and assistance to our people's just cause

I avail myself of this opportunity today to express my profound thanks again to Comrade Gustav Husak and the Communist Party, Government and people of Czechoslovakia for their brotherly support and assistance to our people.

As is shown by the current visit of the Party and government delegation of Czechoslovakia to this country, the relations

between our two countries keep developing favourably and their internationalist solidarity is growing in strength.

The strengthening of unity among socialist countries contributes to increasing the might of socialism as a whole and shows that the position of world socialism is solid.

Our people will, in the future, too, carry out the revolution and construction in our country well and thereby more faithfully discharge their national and international duties.

Comrades and friends,

Today the international situation is developing in favour of socialism and the revolutionary forces and to the disadvantage of imperialism and the reactionary forces.

ment was made public and the dialogue started between the two parts of Korea.

In step with these US machinations, the south Korean authorities are also employing double-dealing tactics. They are scheming to perpetuate the division of the nation and exerting all efforts to reinforce their military strength, putting up the signboard of "peaceful reunification" on the one hand and, on the other, openly clamouring for "confrontation with dialogue", "competition with dialogue" and "coexistence with dialogue".

Because of all this the dialogue between the north and south of Korea is not making progress the way it should and a big stumbling block still lies in the way to reunification, despite the consistent, sincere efforts of our Party and the Government of our Republic for the country's independent, peaceful reunification. Consequently the bright prospect for national reunification which was opened before our nation when the historic north-south joint statement was published a year ago is being blighted.

Out of our earnest desire to get over the difficult situation created today and materialize the people's long-cherished aspiration for peaceful national reunification as soon as possible, we hereby reaffirm before the world the policy of our Party and the Government of our Republic for independent, peaceful reunification:

1. To improve the present relations between the north and south of Korea and accelerate the peaceful reunification of the country, it is necessary, first of all, to eliminate military confrontation and ease tension between the north and south.

To remove military confrontation and alleviate tension between the north and south is a matter of pressing urgency and vital importance at present in dispelling the misunderstanding and mistrust and deepening mutual understanding and trust

north and south to participate in the nationwide patriotic work for national reunification.

We consider that the dialogue between the north and south for national reunification should not be confined to the authorities of the north and south but be held on a nationwide scale.

To this end, we propose to convene a Great National Congress composed of representatives of people of all walks of life—the workers, working peasants, working intellectuals, student youths and soldiers in the north, and the workers, peasants, student youths, intellectuals, military personnel, national capitalists and petty bourgeoisie in south Korea—and the representatives of political parties and social organizations in the north and south, and comprehensively discuss and solve the question of the country's reunification at this congress.

4. What is of great significance today in speeding up the country's reunification is to institute a north-south Confederation under the name of a single country.

It goes without saying that there may be various ways to materialize the complete reunification of the country.

Under the prevailing conditions we think that the most reasonable way for the reunification is to convene the Great National Congress and achieve national unity, and on this basis, institute the north-south Confederation, leaving the two existing social systems in north and south as they are for the time being.

In case the north-south Confederation is instituted, it will be good to name this confederal state Confederal Republic of Koryo after Koryo, a unitary state which once existed on our territory and was widely known to the world. This will be a good name for the state acceptable both to the north and south.

The founding of the Confederal Republic of Koryo will open up a decisive phase in preventing a national split, bringing

about all-round contact and collaboration between the north and south and in hastening the complete reunification.

5. We consider that our country should be prevented from being split into two Koreas permanently as a result of the freezing of national division and that the north and south should also work together in the field of external activity.

Of course we are developing state relations with all countries friendly to our Republic on the principle of equality and mutual benefit; but we resolutely oppose all machinations designed to make use of this to manufacture two Koreas.

We hold that the north and south should not enter the UN separately, and consider that if they want to enter the UN before the reunification of the country, they should enter it as a single state under the name of the Confederal Republic of Koryo, at least after the Confederation is set up.

But apart from the question of admission to the UN, if the Korean question is placed on its agenda for discussion, the representative of our Republic should be entitled to take part in it and speak as the party concerned.

Our people are a single people who have lived with the same culture and the same language through many centuries, and they can never live separated in two parts.

Our proposal is to remove military confrontation and ease tension between the north and south, materialize many-sided collaboration and interchange between the two parts, convene the Great National Congress composed of representatives of people of all strata and political parties and social organizations in the north and south, institute the north-south Confederation under the single name of the Confederal Republic of Koryo and enter the UN under the single name of the Confederal Republic of Koryo. When this proposal for the country's reunification is put into effect, there will be a great turning point in accomplish-

ing the historic cause of peaceful national reunification on the principle of the north-south joint statement, as commonly desired by our people and the world's people.

We expect the south Korean authorities to approach with sincerity this new fair proposal of ours for reunification.

At the same time we strongly demand that the United States must look straight into the fast changing situation of today, withdraw its troops from south Korea as soon as practicable and discontinue its aggressions and interventions against our country.

If the United States thinks that it can swallow up small nations one by one, while improving its relations only with big powers or maintain its colonial domination by propping up its minions forsaken by the people under the signboard of "anti-communism", it is gravely mistaken. Such policy of the United States will rather arouse resistance and hatred of the majority of the world's people and hasten its ruin.

We think that now the UN should deal a blow to the United States' manoeuvre to justify the occupation of south Korea by its troops under the pretext of the UN "resolution".

The UN must take the "UN forces" helmets off the US troops in south Korea, make them withdraw and dissolve the "United Nations Commission for the Unification and Rehabilitation of Korea" and thus remove all obstacles it has laid to hamper the independent, peaceful reunification of Korea, in keeping with the trend of the present times towards independence and peace. This is demanded by the general world situation.

It is none other than the Japanese militarists who are still working desperately in the international arena as the most active followers of the US imperialists in their bankrupt machination to meddle in our internal affairs. We again warn the Japanese militarists that they must also look squarely into the reality, give up their hostile policy against the Democratic People's Republic of Korea and desist from their crafty manoeuvres to

seize an opportunity to actualize their wild desire for invading south Korea again.

Comrades and friends,

The Korean people's righteous struggle to reject foreign interference and achieve the country's independent, peaceful reunification is enjoying the support and encouragement of the peoples of socialist countries, the peoples of Asia, Africa and Latin America and all the peace-loving people of the world.

Our Party and people always regard it as an important factor for the victory of our revolution to cement their solidarity with the international revolutionary forces, while firmly building up their own revolutionary forces.

In the future, too, we will fight staunchly for the triumph of the cause of peace and democracy, national independence and socialism, in unity with the peoples of socialist countries, in unity with the international working class, in unity with the fighting Asian, African and Latin-American peoples and in unity with all the peace-loving people of the world, upholding the banner of Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism, the revolutionary banner of anti-imperialist struggle.

The Korean people strongly support the Vietnamese people in the new phase of their struggle to ensure the strict observance of the Paris Agreement on Viet Nam, build socialism in the north, defend peace, independence and sovereignty in the south and reunify their country peacefully.

We also express firm solidarity with the Laotian people in their struggle to safeguard peace in Laos and achieve national harmony and the reunification of their country

Today the United States is expanding its war of aggression in Cambodia, pouring down large quantities of bombs every hour and every day, but it is only destroying its prestige and dignity with its own bombs and revealing its savagery more clearly. We sternly condemn the United States for its war of aggression against Cambodia and express full support to the

patriotic Cambodian people's just struggle for the complete liberation of their country.

The Korean people actively support the struggle of all Asian peoples against the aggression of US imperialism and the revival of Japanese militarism and resolutely support the struggle of the Palestinian people and other Arab peoples against the US-backed aggressors of Israel.

Our people actively support the struggle of the African peoples against imperialism, colonialism and racism and for freedom, liberation and consolidated national independence and express firm solidarity with the struggle of the Latin-American peoples against the aggression and intervention of US imperialism and for defending the sovereignty, territorial waters and natural resources of their countries.

The Korean people express firm solidarity with the struggle of the working class and working people of the capitalist countries against the exploitation and oppression by capital and for democratic rights and socialism.

The people in Europe have waged a protracted struggle to remove the root cause of war and guarantee durable peace and security in this continent which was the breeding ground of the two world wars.

We express full support to the endeavours of the European socialist countries and the peoples of other countries in Europe for peace and security in this part of the world.

We will, in the future, too, continue to do all we can to promote the fraternal friendship and solidarity between the Korean and Czechoslovak peoples in the struggle to attain our common goals and ideals.

Long live the indestructible fraternal friendship and solidarity between the Korean people and the Czechoslovak people!

Long live the Czechoslovak Communist Party and the Czechoslovak Socialist Republic!

Long live the banner of ever-victorious Marxism-Leninism!

ANSWERS TO THE QUESTIONS RAISED BY MR. MANIAN, CORRESPONDENT OF L'HUMANITE

July 27, 1950

Question: What is Your Excellency's appraisal of the military situation in Korea today when one month has elapsed since the outbreak of the war?

Answer: The Korean people did not want the war They fought for the country's peaceful reunification

However, the US imperialists and their stooges, the puppet clique of south Korea, unleashed a fratricidal civil war in our country. The documents obtained by our People's Army in Seoul confirm that the war ignited by the Syngman Rhee puppet clique had been long prepared under the direction of the US military mission.

As it has become very clear now, the fratricidal civil war in Korea was necessary for the US imperialists not only to invent a pretext for their armed invasion of Korea but also to carry out their policy of aggression in other parts of Asia.

The war in Korea was necessary to realize the sinister scheme of the US imperialist war incendiaries; it was necessary to materialize the design for the future militarization and fascistization of the USA and also to shackle more closely to the US imperialists those nations dependent on the USA.

By unleashing the war, the anti-popular Syngman Rhee

quislings intend to execute orders given by their US masters and bolster up their ever-crumbling position.

In provoking a war in our Korea, the US imperialists estimated that the Korean people's might was quite negligible. However, in the battles waged for a month with the active support and assistance of the people and guerrillas, our People's Army has liberated three quarters of the whole area of south Korea, annihilated the greater part of the Syngman Rhee puppet army and the US imperialist armed forces of aggression that had landed on Korean soil and it continues to advance bravely after routing the US 24th Division.

Our People's Army has been tempered in battles and is growing stronger than before, accumulating combat experience.

Question: Does Your Excellency think the war in Korea will last long or end soon?

Answer: We do not think that we will win victory easily. However, the Korean people are firmly resolved to fight till they drive out all the US imperialist armed invaders from our Korea and achieve a final victory.

Question: What are the factors that will enable the Korean People's Army to defeat the US imperialist armed aggressors?

Answer: The primary factor that will contribute to its victory is that our People's Army is fighting against the US imperialist aggressors and their henchmen for the righteous cause, for the country's freedom and independence. The officers and men of the Korean People's Army are well aware of this. The Korean people who suffered from protracted colonial oppression do not want to become the slaves of the US imperialists.

In its warfare, the People's Army enjoys the ceaseless as-

sistance and support of the entire Korean people as well as the support and encouragement of the progressive people all over the world. All this fact inspires our People's Army to heroic exploits.

In addition, I should like to point to the fact that our People's Army is well armed. These are the basic guarantee for the victory of our People's Army.

On the contrary, however, the US imperialist aggressor army carries on an unjust, aggressive war to enslave the Korean people and subjugate them to the US monopoly capitalists This kind of war is, of course, unnecessary to the American people and soldiers Therefore, it is not accidental that in Korea the US soldiers are bad at fighting and collectively surrender to the People's Army by hundreds to be taken prisoners.

Question: Can the loss caused by the bombing of the planes of the US imperialist aggressor army act on the termination of the war? What do the Korean people think about US imperialist aggressors' barbarities in Korea?

Answer: The US imperialist aggressors are indiscriminately bombing Korean towns and villages, and brutally killing peaceable inhabitants. The US imperialist colonial marauders are flagrantly violating the universally recognized international law in the war. They are continuously bombing peaceful towns where there have not been any military installations, they are mercilessly raiding inhabited areas, destroying houses, making our people homeless and killing them at random.

The US imperialists cover up their savageries with the resolution of the UN Security Council which they illegally adopted in violation of the United Nations Charter by putting their voting machine in motion.

They are dyeing the UN flag with the Korean people's blood The US imperialists' armed invasion of Korea will add a disgraceful defiled page to the history of the United Nations.

The US imperialists have revealed their foul true colours.

Before in our country there were some naive people who were deceived with the honeyed words about American "humanitarianism", but today these people have discarded their illusions about US imperialism after personally undergoing bitter experiences of its "humanitarianism".

The US imperialist armed invaders will be unable to break the Korean people's strong will by their invasion. The bestialities by the US imperialists are adding fuel to our Korean people's hatred for the US imperialist armed invaders. Such savageries are rather increasing than weakening the Korean people's might in their struggle for freedom and independence.

Question: What is Your Excellency's view on the worldwide movement now going on in all countries to support the Korean people's struggle against the armed invasion of US imperialism?

Answer: All the progressive people are infuriated at the atrocities committed by the US imperialist aggressors in Korea. Powerful voices of thousands and millions of people shouting "Hands off Korea!" are ringing out of all countries.

This international solidarity inspires the Korean people and gives them a fresh strength in their fight for their country's liberty and independence.

Question: Hasn't Your Excellency anything to say to the French people?

Answer: I am very glad to avail myself of this opportunity to offer, on behalf of the entire Korean people, friendly greetings to the freedom-loving people of France and express thanks to the French people for giving encouragement to the Korean people in their battle against the US imperialist armed invaders.

ANSWERS TO THE QUESTIONS RAISED BY THE CORRESPONDENT OF THE NAFEN IN INDIA

June 9, 1956

Question: What is the Government of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea going to do to promote the reunification of Korea?

Answer: The DPRK Government is endeavouring and will endeavour to achieve Korean reunification through peaceful means on the democratic basis by the Koreans themselves.

More than once we have proposed to the south Korean authorities rapprochement and negotiation between the north and the south. We are still advocating this, we maintain that a permanent commission composed of representatives of north and south Korea should be established to discuss problems concerning contact between the north and the south and Korea's reunification.

Working hard to turn the Korean armistice into a durable peace, we have recently decided, as a practical measure, for reducing our Republic's armed forces by 80,000 and appropriating the surplus military spendings for peaceful construction

We are ready to continue to take effective measures for easing tension and creating an atmosphere of mutual trust.

We still maintain that all foreign troops should be withdrawn from Korea and that for the peaceful settlement of the

Korean question an international conference of the nations concerned should be convoked with the participation of representatives of the north and south Korean governments.

Question: What is the opinion of the DPRK on the US expulsion of the Neutral Nations Supervisory Commission?

Answer: The DPRK considers that the statement of the "UN Command" on the expulsion of the Neutral Nations Supervisory Commission from south Korea is a flagrant violation of the provisions of the Korean Armistice Agreement and is an act of increasing armaments in south Korea and aggravating tension in Korea.

Question: What steps will the DPRK take to maintain close relations with other Asian and Arab countries?

Answer: The DPRK supports the five principles of peaceful coexistence and is striving, in accordance with these principles, to establish and develop cooperative relations with all nations.

We are making special endeavours to promote cultural and economic relations with the Asian and Arab countries which are struggling against colonialism and for their national independence.

We support multifarious contacts with these countries and exchanges of parliamentary, cultural and economic delegations as well as individual scientists, public and political figures.

ANSWERS TO THE QUESTIONS RAISED BY THE CORRESPONDENT OF A FINNISH NEWSPAPER

November 28, 1958

Question: The problem of peaceful reunification of Korea has not yet been solved. What measures should first be taken to solve this problem which is important for the relaxation of international tension?

Answer: Korea's reunification has not been achieved up to now and tension still exists in Korea The root cause for this lies in the occupation of south Korea by the US troops

The US troops are impeding Korean reunification In violation of the Armistice Agreement, they are expanding their armaments by bringing into south Korea atomic weapons, guided missiles and other different kinds of new-type weapons And instigating the Syngman Rhee clique to clamour for "march north", they keep creating tension This very fact shows that so long as the US troops stay on in south Korea peaceful reunification cannot be achieved nor a durable peace insured in Korea

Korea's reunification is the Korean people's own affair, and it must be settled by themselves without any foreign interference Now that the Chinese People's Volunteers have withdrawn from Korea, the US troops have not the slightest excuse for remaining in south Korea. First of all they must get out of south Ko-

rea. This is the prerequisite for the achievement of peaceful reunification and the easing of tension in Korea.

Question: Some people suggest the idea of abolishing the Korean Military Armistice Commission. What is your opinion about the meaning and work of this commission?

Answer: The Korean Armistice Agreement stipulates that all foreign troops shall be withdrawn from Korea and that the armistice shall be turned into a durable peace.

The Chinese People's Volunteers have already withdrawn from Korea.

The US troops must get out of south Korea so that the Korean armistice may be turned into a lasting peace and that the solution of the Korean question may be left to the Korean people themselves. However, they refuse to get out of south Korea, flagrantly trampling down the Armistice Agreement.

The Military Armistice Commission must continue to exist until all the US troops withdraw from south Korea.

Also necessary is the activity of the Neutral Nations Supervisory Commission whose function is to supervise the scrupulous observance of the Armistice Agreement.

The US side is hindering in every way the activity of the NNSC which plays a positive role in the preservation of the armistice. The US side must desist from this position; it is duty bound to give proper assistance to the NNSC.

Question: With how many countries does the DPRK maintain diplomatic relations? If the Republic of Finland wants to establish diplomatic relations with your country, what would be your attitude on this matter?

Answer: The DPRK has established diplomatic relations with eleven socialist countries including the USSR and the Peo-

ple's Republic of China and is promoting friendly cooperative relations with them In addition, the DPRK has economic and cultural relations with a number of Asian and African nations. The DPRK, which since its very inception has consistently pursued a peace-loving foreign policy, endeavours to promote friendly relations with all countries, irrespective of their social systems, in accordance with the principles of peaceful coexistence. We are ready to establish good-neighbour relations with all countries which want to form friendly relations with our country.

ANSWERS TO THE QUESTIONS RAISED BY IWAMOTO KIYOSHI, MANAGING DIRECTOR OF THE KYODO PRESS OF JAPAN

April 19, 1965

Question: The war in Viet Nam seems to be fraught with the danger of developing into a second Korean war and, further, into a third world war. What in your opinion is essential for the settlement of the Viet Nam war at this moment? And how can it be realized?

Answer: I share your concern over the Vietnamese situation.

The present grave situation in Viet Nam has been created entirely because of the US imperialist acts of aggression and war.

For years now, the US imperialists have been conducting a criminal war of aggression in South Viet Nam.

Having suffered repeated setbacks and been driven into a tight corner by the heroic resistance of the South Vietnamese people, the US imperialists, in an attempt to find a way out, are attacking the Democratic Republic of Viet Nam and escalating the war, while intensifying the war of aggression in South Viet Nam. In my view, therefore, the solution to the war in Viet Nam lies, primarily, in halting and frustrating the US imperialists' brigandish acts of aggression.

The Central Committee of the South Viet Nam National Front for Liberation and the Government of the Democratic Republic of Viet Nam have time and again proposed just and reasonable measures to solve the Viet Nam question.

We fully support them.

The US imperialists must immediately stop their aggressive war in South Viet Nam and the barbarous bombing and bombardment of the Democratic Republic of Viet Nam, pull out of South Viet Nam without delay, taking all their military personnel and lethal weapons, and strictly observe the 1954 Geneva Agreements. The South Viet Nam question must be solved by the South Vietnamese people themselves and the question of Viet Nam's reunification must be settled by the people in the north and south of Viet Nam, free from foreign interference.

All the peace-loving countries and peoples of the world must unite more closely, strongly condemn the US imperialist manoeuvres of aggression and war, launch a powerful mass movement to shatter them, and must support and encourage the fighting Vietnamese people in every way.

The Vietnamese people supported by the people of the whole world for their righteous, heroic battle will definitely emerge victorious, while the US imperialists who are hated and denounced by the people throughout the world for their criminal aggressions are destined to meet an ultimate defeat.

Question: What do you think is most important and necessary at the present moment for the unity of the socialist countries?

Answer: The socialist countries are rallied in one and the same fighting unit for the common goal against the common enemy on the principles of Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism.

There are differences of opinion between some socialist

countries today, but they are something like a temporary family trouble.

The peoples of the socialist countries will fight together against imperialism and colonialism, for peace, national independence and the victory of socialism and communism, and through this struggle they will unite more firmly.

Question: In Japan, too, profound attention is focussed on the dispatch of troops to Viet Nam by the south Korean authorities. What do you think of this?

Answer: As is generally known, south Korea's puppet troops were sent to South Viet Nam on orders given by US President Johnson himself with a view to expanding the war.

The US imperialists have long been trying to attain their aggressive ends through what they call "internationalization" of the aggressive war in South Viet Nam and by pitting Asians against Asians.

That the US imperialists dragged the south Korean "National Defence Army" first into the aggressive war in South Viet Nam shows all the more clearly that the Pak Jung Hi "government" of south Korea is the arch-puppet of US imperialism.

The introduction of the south Korean "National Defence Army" into South Viet Nam by the US imperialists in defiance of worldwide public denunciation also shows that they have come to an impasse where they cannot carry on their aggressive war with the South Viet Nam's puppet army alone. However, a people's righteous struggle for freedom and liberation cannot be put down by mercenaries bought with dollars.

The south Korean youth will never put up with their being used as cannon fodder by US imperialism in the aggressive war against the South Vietnamese people.

The US imperialists are bound to taste the bitter consequence that will arise from their introduction of south Korean "National Defence Army" in South Viet Nam.

Question: An agreement has been reached in principle on the pending questions at the "Japan-ROK talks". What do you think of this from the viewpoint of the future of your country and Japan and of the reunification of north and south Korea?

Answer: Our Government's position with regard to the "ROK-Japan talks" has already been made clear through repeated statements

The "ROK-Japan talks" were initiated by the US for the purpose of rigging up the "Northeast Asia Military Alliance" and using the Japanese militarist forces as "shock brigade" in its Asian aggression. For its part, the Japanese government is scheming to make inroads into south Korea and cherishes a foolish desire to materialize its old dream of dominating Asia as the price for its active participation in the US plan of aggression.

The south Korean "government" is actively pushing ahead with the "ROK-Japan talks" to prop up the crumbling foundation of its puppet rule and perpetuate the partition of our country even by selling out south Korea to US imperialism and Japanese militarism as a dual colony.

Aimed at hampering Korea's peaceful reunification and achieving the overseas expansion of the militarist forces of Japan, the "ROK-Japan talks" run counter to the fundamental interests of both the Korean and Japanese peoples.

The DPRK Government and the Korean people resolutely oppose these plots hatched by the south Korean puppet regime and the Japanese government at the instigation of the US imperialists

As for the outstanding questions under discussion at the "ROK-Japan talks", no matter what agreements the south Korean puppet authorities and the Japanese government may reach, they are totally null and void.

The south Korean puppet regime was set up with the bayonets of US imperialism, and it can never represent the Korean people.

The problems which have arisen between Korea and Japan over the past years should be settled on a fair and reasonable basis after the establishment of a unified government of the Korean people representing their general will.

As an outburst of their anger the entire people of north and south Korea are now waging a vigorous struggle against the "ROK-Japan talks". Especially, the south Korean students and youth have again launched out into powerful anti-Japanese, anti-government demonstrations.

The Japanese people are also waging a widespread struggle against the "ROK-Japan talks".

The Korean people express full support to and solidarity with the Japanese people in this just struggle.

The criminal "ROK-Japan talks" must be smashed and the relations between Korea and Japan be normalized strictly in keeping with the interests of the two peoples and on the basis of peace and friendship.

Question: What is the economic situation in your country and, incidentally, what specific plans do you have to develop trade between Korea and Japan?

Answer: Our national economy is steadily developing at a high rate thanks to the superiority of the socialist system and our people's hard work.

The industrial and agricultural production has rapidly in-

creased and an overall technical revolution and an extensive work of construction are now going on in all domains of the national economy.

We have already laid the solid foundation of an independent national economy, and this has enabled us to develop trade relations with other countries on an extensive scale.

Today our trade relations with many foreign countries are continuously expanding and developing.

As for our trade relations with Japan, they depend solely on the Japanese government's attitude. Trade between the two countries will be promoted if the Japanese government authorities do not lay artificial obstacles to the development of trade relations between Korea and Japan and give up their unfriendly attitude.

Question: What do you expect or hope from Japan under the present situation in Asia?

Answer: We hope Japan will free herself from the bondage to US imperialism and, as a genuine peace-loving country, promote good-neighbour relations with the adjacent Asian countries.

Question: What, in your opinion, are the necessary conditions for the improvement of political and economic relations between your country and Japan?

Answer: The DPRK Government has all along endeavoured to normalize and improve its relations with Japan, its neighbour. The Japanese government, however, has pursued a hostile policy towards the DPRK.

In order to better relations between our two countries it is

necessary, first of all, for the Japanese government to discard this policy.

For the present, the Japanese government must immediately stop the "ROK-Japan talks" which it is unlawfully holding with the south Korean authorities and abrogate the already initialled agreements.

ANSWERS TO THE QUESTIONS RAISED BY SAKAI TATSUO AND FUSE MICHIO, CORRESPONDENTS OF THE NIHON KEIZAI SHIMBUN (Excerpt)

April 21, 1965

Question: The progressive camp in Japan including the Socialist and Communist Parties is opposed to the Japan-South Korea negotiations now under way, saying that they hamper the reunification of north and south Korea.

What is your view about the possibility of Korea's reunification?

Answer: The opposition of the progressive camp including the Japan Socialist Party and Communist Party to the "ROK-Japan talks" is fully justified.

The "ROK-Japan talks" are aimed at intensifying the colonial rule over south Korea, subjugating it to both US and Japanese imperialisms.

As official representatives of the Japanese government said repeatedly and openly, the current "ROK-Japan talks" also presuppose direct antagonism to the Democratic People's Republic of Korea. Therefore, the "ROK-Japan talks" constitute a serious hindrance to Korea's peaceful reunification

The Japanese government has even reached a secret agreement with the US government on dispatching Japanese armed

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The Japanese government has even reached a secret agreement with the US government on dispatching Japanese armed

forces to south Korea to obstruct Korea's peaceful reunification and save the tottering puppet regime of south Korea.

But, no matter how closely the US imperialists and Japanese militarist forces may be aligned, they will never be able to prevent the collapse of the colonial ruling machinery in south Korea and obstruct the reunification of the Korean nation.

The DPRK Government has consistently maintained that the country's reunification should be achieved peacefully through a free north-south general election on a democratic basis without any foreign interference after the withdrawal of all foreign troops including the US imperialist aggression army from south Korea; it has made proposals to hold negotiations between north and south Korea for this purpose at any time.

This just position of the DPRK Government is strongly supported at home and abroad despite the tenacious opposition on the part of US imperialism and the south Korean authorities.

The successes of socialist construction in the northern half of the Republic, which are the material guarantee for the country's peaceful reunification, are further increasing with each passing day.

Through their bitter experiences of the last twenty years the south Korean people have come to realize that the only way out of their present miserable plight lies in the peaceful reunification of the country, and have risen in a dynamic anti-US struggle to save the nation.

The south Korean people will never leave US imperialism and its stooges alone, who are bringing them untold sufferings and hindering our country's reunification.

The Korean question will be solved when our country is peacefully reunified by the concerted efforts of the north and south Korean people through the anti-US liberation struggle of the people in south Korea.

ANSWERS TO THE QUESTIONS RAISED BY GABRIEL MOLINA, DIRECTOR OF THE PRESS DEPARTMENT OF THE HOY, AND OTHER CUBAN JOURNALISTS

July 6, 1965

Question: What are the prospect of your country's reunification and the possibility of accelerating it through correspondence and economic exchange on the basis of the proposal made by you, Comrade Premier, in January this year?

Answer: As you know well, our Government has made persevering efforts to reunify the country in accordance with the unanimous desire and will of the entire Korean people.

However, Korea's reunification has not yet been accomplished and the territory and people still remain divided.

This is entirely because of the interference in Korea's internal affairs and the splittist activities by US imperialism which is occupying south Korea by force of arms under the signboard of the United Nations.

Our Government's position with regard to the question of Korean reunification is clear.

We have consistently maintained that Korea's reunification should be achieved independently and peacefully on democratic principles without any interference from outside forces.

Basing ourselves on this principle, we have proposed time and again to the south Korean authorities that an all-Korea government be established with representatives of the people of all strata by holding a free, democratic general election throughout north and south Korea after forcing out the aggressive troops of US imperialism.

This proposal of our Government for the solution of the question of Korea's reunification is a most fair and reasonable one acceptable to anyone—one that not only coincides with the national interests of all the Korean people but also fully accords with the interests of peace in the Far East and the rest of the world.

However, the US imperialists and the south Korean puppet regime are against this just proposal of ours.

Since the US imperialists and the south Korean rulers are against the establishment of a unified Korean government through a free, democratic election, we proposed to establish a Confederation as a transitional step for solving urgent problems of common concern for our nation and advancing step by step towards complete reunification, and to effect at least economic and cultural exchanges and correspondence between north and south Korea, so as to alleviate, if just a little, the misfortunes and sufferings of the nation caused by territorial division.

But the south Korean authorities flatly opposed even this proposal.

As a result, our country, far from being reunified, is still in an abnormal situation where parents, children, wives, relatives and friends, separated from each other, in the north and in the south, cannot even exchange letters.

What is more, the Pak Jung Hi puppet regime, under the manipulation of US imperialism, recently concluded the "ROK-Japan talks" and signed a treacherous "treaty" and "agree-

ments" with the Japanese militarists, thus laying a still-greater obstacle to national reunification.

The "treaty" and "agreements" signed at the "ROK-Japan talks" serve the US imperialists' aggressive design to intensify their invasion of Asia by framing up the "Northeast Asia Military Alliance" with the revived forces of Japanese militarism at its core, to obstruct Korea's reunification and to perpetuate its division.

This is why the whole Korean people are fighting resolutely against these.

The main obstacle to Korea's reunification is the US imperialists' occupation of south Korea and their policy of interference in the internal affairs of Korea.

There is no ground whatsoever for the US imperialist aggressive troops to remain in south Korea.

They must withdraw from south Korea and the Korean question must be solved by the Korean people themselves.

In order to force the US imperialist aggressive troops out of south Korea and accelerate Korea's reunification, it is necessary further to fortify our revolutionary base in the northern half of the Republic politically, economically and militarily by splendidly building socialism and to strengthen the revolutionary forces in south Korea by closely rallying the south Korean people around the anti-US united front to save the nation.

At the same time, solidarity between the Korean people and the international revolutionary forces must be cemented.

The US imperialist aggressive army will be compelled to leave south Korea when our own forces grow strong, the anti-US national-salvation struggle is waged vigorously and the international support to our people's struggle increases.

When the US imperialist aggressive army pulls out of south Korea, the Korean people will reunify their country with their own efforts.

The Korean people are a homogeneous nation who has had

the same language and customs from the ancient times and lived in harmony in the same land.

The Korean people cannot live divided.

The US imperialist aggressors will eventually be driven out of south Korea as out of other countries and our people will certainly reunify their country by themselves.

This is an inevitable process of the development of history which no force ever can check.

The heroic Cuban people have always actively supported and encouraged our people's struggle for the withdrawal of the US imperialist aggressive army from south Korea and for the independent reunification of Korea.

This is very valuable to us and a great inspiration to the Korean people.

I take this opportunity to express, in the name of our Party's Central Committee, the Government of our Republic and the entire Korean people, my heartfelt gratitude to the United Party of Socialist Revolution and the Revolutionary Government of Cuba headed by Comrade Fidel Castro and to the heroic Cuban people, for actively supporting and encouraging our just cause at all times.

Question: Could you tell us something about the present relations between the DPRK and the Republic of Cuba and about the existing possibilities of expanding trade and cultural relations between the two countries?

Answer: The relations between the DPRK and the Republic of Cuba are excellent now.

The relations of friendship and cooperation between our two countries are a new type of state relationship based on the principles of Marxism-Leninism and of proletarian internationalism.

The Korean and Cuban peoples are comrades-in-arms and

intimate brothers who are fighting on the same side of the barricade in the struggle for the revolutionary cause of the international working class and the struggle against US imperialism, the common enemy.

Our two peoples, therefore, fully understand each other's situation and support and sympathize with each other.

Standing by the Cuban people from the first day of the victory of the Cuban revolution, the Korean people have positively supported and are supporting their just struggle, resolutely opposing the ceaseless aggressive manoeuvres of US imperialism to strangle the Cuban revolution.

Our Party and the Government of our Republic fully support the lines and policies of the United Party of Socialist Revolution and the Revolutionary Government of Cuba for firmly defending the revolutionary gains and expediting the socialist construction of the country.

The Cuban people have always actively supported the Korean people's struggle for socialist construction and the country's independent reunification.

This mutual support based on proletarian internationalism not only accords with the interests of our two peoples but also fully conforms with the interests of the unity of the socialist camp.

Today the relations of friendship and cooperation between Korea and Cuba are strengthening and developing day by day.

With the progress of socialist construction in our two countries, our economic interchange will be conducted more briskly and our trade relations expanded.

We will make every possible effort to expand our trade with Cuba.

Cultural exchanges are being expanded and developed between our two countries.

The culture of each country has its own fine national features and contributes to the treasure house of world culture.

Cultural interchange is not only beneficial to promoting mutual understanding among nations but is of great significance for them in advancing their own national cultures by learning from each other.

I am firmly confident that the friendly and cooperative relations between our two countries in the political, economic and cultural spheres will further expand and develop in the future.

Question: What are the DPRK Government's views on the systematic US imperialist attacks against the Democratic Republic of Viet Nam and on the dispatch of troops by the south Korean authorities to South Viet Nam?

Answer: The US imperialists have long waged an undeclared "special war" in South Viet Nam and carried out a savage war of aggression, even using poison gas and other toxic chemical weapons.

Now they are gradually spreading the war, frenziedly stepping up aggressions against the Democratic Republic of Viet Nam, a socialist country.

The war the US imperialists are waging against the Vietnamese people is an aggressive war, while the war the Vietnamese people are waging against the aggressors is a righteous war and a liberation war.

The US imperialist acts of aggression against the Democratic Republic of Viet Nam are a challenge to all the countries of the socialist camp, the national independent states of Asia, Africa and Latin America and to all the progressive people of the world.

The US imperialists are sustaining one miserable setback after another in face of the Vietnamese people's heroic resistance. They are trying to get out of their predicament in South Viet Nam by reinforcing their armed forces on a large scale and even bringing in the mercenaries of their satellite countries.

On orders of the US imperialists, the Pak Jung Hi clique of south Korea have already dispatched more than two thousand puppet troops to South Viet Nam, in defiance of the unanimous opposition of the entire Korean people, and are planning to send tens of thousands more.

This is an intolerable treachery and insult to the entire Korean people.

The dispatch of troops to South Viet Nam by the Pak Jung Hi clique clearly shows that they are an out-and-out puppet of US imperialism and the executor of its aggression in Asia.

By joining US imperialism in its criminal aggressive war against Viet Nam, the Pak Jung Hi clique have exposed themselves as the enemy not only of the Korean people but also of the peoples of Asia and the rest of the world who are fighting for freedom, independence and progress.

Today the peace-loving people the world over are scathingly denouncing the US imperialist aggression in Viet Nam and actively supporting and encouraging the Vietnamese people.

The Vietnamese people who have risen up in the righteous battle will vanquish the US imperialist aggressors and win a final victory without fail, and US imperialism will never escape a shameful fiasco.

Question: What would be the position of the DPRK in case the Democratic Republic of Viet Nam and the South Viet Nam National Front for Liberation urgently request more effective aid of the socialist camp?

Answer: Today the Vietnamese people's struggle against the US imperialists is not only a struggle to defend their own independence and sovereignty but also a struggle to safeguard the security of the entire socialist camp and the peace of Asia and the world.

Therefore, all the socialist countries, national independent

states of Asia, Africa and Latin America and all the progressive people of the world are duty bound to take decisive actions resolutely opposing the US imperialists' acts of aggression in Viet Nam and give effective assistance to its fighting people, and the Vietnamese people have a legitimate right to receive this assistance.

Our people regard it as their internationalist duty to render positive support to the Vietnamese people in their just struggle.

We fully support the March 22 statement issued by the Central Committee of the South Viet Nam National Front for Liberation in connection with the frenzied US imperialist escalation of the aggressive war in Viet Nam and the four-point demand made by the National Assembly and Government of the Democratic Republic of Viet Nam for the settlement of the Viet Nam question.

Through its March 26 statement the DPRK Government already voiced its strong support to the South Vietnamese people's struggle and expressed its firm position, declaring that it would render every form of material and moral assistance including weapons to the South Vietnamese people and would dispatch volunteers whenever requested by the South Viet Nam National Front for Liberation.

Later, this position was reaffirmed by the April 30 Enlarged Session of the Presidium of our Supreme People's Assembly and the May 20 resolution of the SPA.

At present a nationwide movement to give active assistance to the Vietnamese people is going on in our country and numerous youths have asked to be sent to the Vietnamese front as volunteers.

Determined to share life and death with the Vietnamese people in the common struggle against the US imperialist aggressors, we Korean people will stand firmly by the Vietnamese people and continue to give them active support and encouragement in their righteous battle.

Question: What, in your opinion, will be the international impact of the US imperialist intervention in Santo Domingo?

Answer: Last April the people's armed uprising broke out in the Dominican Republic to overthrow the military dictatorship and secure the country's freedom and democracy.

This is an eruption of the pent-up wrath of the Dominican people against the military dictatorship; it is the Dominican people's internal affair and no one has the right to meddle in it.

The US imperialists, however, landed their marines in Santo Domingo and even brought in the troops of their satellite countries in the "Organization of American States" and are carrying on the sanguinary suppression of the patriotic people, flagrantly interfering in the Dominican Republic's domestic affairs.

US imperialist aggression in the Dominican Republic is a challenge to the Latin-American peoples who are fighting for national independence and social progress and a grave menace to peace in Latin America and the rest of the world.

Therefore, the Latin-American peoples and the progressive people of the whole world are waging a resolute struggle today against the US imperialists' outrageous intervention in the internal affairs of the Dominican Republic and their aggressive acts.

The victory of the Cuban revolution has exerted a great inspiring influence on the liberation struggles of the Latin-American peoples for independence and progress and increased their conviction that they can defeat US imperialism and its lackeys.

Today US imperialism's foothold in Latin America is shaking to its very foundation owing to the fierce struggle of the people in this area for freedom and independence.

US imperialism has continuously perpetrated nake

sions to stamp out the Cuban people's revolutionary gains, has rigged up puppet military fascist regimes in a number of Latin-American countries and has been ruthlessly repressing the peoples' liberation struggles.

With no manoeuvre can US imperialism subjugate the Dominican people and other Latin-American peoples who have risen up in their just struggles.

The more US imperialism intensifies aggression and suppression, the more the antagonism of the Dominican people and all the other Latin-American peoples will increase and the more thoroughly it will be isolated and inevitably suffer an ignominious defeat.

We firmly believe that the Dominican people who have risen up in a righteous fight will definitely win if they bravely fight to the last against the US imperialist aggressors, taking arms firmly into their hands.

Question: Could you tell us something about the Korean people's struggle for the implementation of the Seven-Year Plan in the northern half of the Republic?

Answer: The Fourth Congress of our Party set forth tasks for the implementation of the Seven-Year Plan designed to lay the solid material and technological foundations of socialism and radically improve the people's material and cultural standards by carrying on the technical and cultural revolutions full scale.

In the first four years of the Seven-Year Plan, we were supposed to reequip and reinforce the existing base of heavy industry, and making an effective use of it, concentrate our efforts on quickly developing light industry and agriculture and radically improving the people's living conditions; and in the remaining period emphasis is to be put on further expanding

heavy industry, improving its technological equipment and decisively fortifying the material and technological basis of socialism, while further improving the people's living standards.

In the last four years we attained remarkable success in carrying out the tasks for the first half of the Seven-Year Plan and, this year, we have embarked upon the implementation of the tasks for the second half.

In the light of the US imperialist manoeuvres for war and aggression stepped up everywhere in Asia and the rest of the world in the last two or three years, we could not but allot a considerable amount of funds for the strengthening of our defence capabilities. This has somewhat affected the implementation of the Seven-Year Plan.

From now, however, we will concentrate our efforts on further perfecting and modernizing key industrial branches such as iron and steel making, fuel and power, chemical and machine-building industries and on increasing their production capacities, thereby carrying out the Seven-Year Plan without fail.

We are now striving to build more medium and small-scale local factories, along with large-scale factories, to lower the costs of products by raising labour productivity and practising greater economy, and to improve their quality.

At the same time, we are steadily increasing investments in agriculture for the rapid development of the rural economy.

In our country where arable land is limited and arid, it was a very difficult task to attain self-sufficiency in food.

However, thanks to our Party's increased investments in the postwar period, firm material and technological foundations have been laid for the rural economy.

As a result of the great achievements made in irrigation, mechanization, electrification and chemicalization in the rural economy, agricultural production has grown sharply and we have attained self-sufficiency in food.

At present, our Party is directing main efforts to the chemicalization of agriculture.

The Tenth Plenary Meeting of our Party's Fourth Central Committee held towards the close of last year discussed and decided on a number of measures for the fulfilment of the Seven-Year Plan.

The plenary meeting emphatically called for effecting a decisive advance in the fulfilment of the Seven-Year National Economic Plan by more thoroughly carrying out the Party's mass line in all spheres of the national economy, energetically pushing ahead the technical revolution, improving manpower administration and practising greater economy, further improving the enterprise management and tapping more reserves.

So, our Party is now concentrating all its efforts on the struggle to fulfil the Seven-Year Plan.

Just as they achieved good results in fulfilling the tasks for the first half of the Seven-Year Plan, so our people will certainly carry out the plan for the second half with credit.

Availing myself of this opportunity I would like to offer my warm congratulations to the Cuban people on their great achievements in the socialist construction of the country and, in particular, on their record harvest of sugar cane this year.

I also hope that the entire Cuban people, rallied all the more firmly around the Revolutionary Government of Cuba headed by Comrade Fidel Castro, will win a shining victory in their struggle against US imperialism and for socialist construction.

ANSWERS TO THE QUESTIONS RAISED BY SAAD EL TAYEH, FOREIGN NEWS EDITOR OF AL AKHBAR, KAMAL AMER, FOREIGN NEWS EDITOR OF MEN, AND OTHER JOURNALISTS OF THE UNITED ARAB REPUBLIC

September 13, 1965

Question: Your Excellency, what are your views about the question of Korea's reunification? What do you think is the best way to achieve it?

Answer: Our position and specific plans with regard to the question of Korean reunification have been clarified more than once.

We hold that the reunification of Korea should be achieved peacefully on independent, democratic principles by the Korean people themselves, free from any foreign interference.

This is our consistent position.

Basing ourselves on this fundamental principle, we have proposed that the question of Korean reunification be solved by way of establishing a unified central government represented by people from all walks of life through a free, democratic north-south general election after the US troops have been forced out of south Korea.

This proposal of ours is a most fair and reasonable plan acceptable to all.

This accords not only with the will and national interests of the entire Korean people but with the interests of peace in the Far East and the world.

Since the US imperialists and the south Korean rulers are opposed to the establishment of a unified Korean government through a free, democratic election, we proposed to enforce a Confederation as a transitional measure for settling urgent problems of common concern for the nation and gradually going over to complete reunification.

To relieve our nation, if only a little, of the misfortunes and sufferings caused by the territorial partition, we proposed economic and cultural exchanges and correspondence between north and south Korea.

We also offered to send materials and provisions needed for the rehabilitation of the ruined economy and the stabilization of the deteriorated people's livelihood in south Korea, and proposed to receive the south Korean unemployed and provide them with jobs in the northern half, and to take over and bring up orphans roaming about the south Korean streets.

However, the US imperialists occupying south Korea and their lackeys are preventing these just proposals from being materialized.

The main obstacle to Korea's reunification is the US military occupation of south Korea. Therefore, Korea's reunification presupposes driving the US troops out of south Korea.

The US troops have no ground whatsoever to stay on in south Korea.

The US imperialists have enforced a fascist rule of terror in south Korea, and brutally trampled down our compatriots and killed them right and left, and have brought poverty and starvation to the south Korean people.

They are egging their lackeys in south Korea on to hamper Korea's reunification by all means and using south Korea as a

military base of aggression against the northern half, China and the Soviet Union.

As soon as the US imperialist aggressor army is driven out of south Korea, the south Korean people will establish a people's government they want. Then the Korean people will smoothly achieve the country's reunification by themselves.

The US imperialists will never be able to keep the south Korean people fettered to their colonial rule for long or dampen the Korean people's aspiration for national reunification. The south Korean people have a long, fine tradition of struggle against foreign aggressors. The present struggle of the youths, students and people against the US imperialists and the puppet regime is gaining momentum in south Korea with every passing day. The south Korean people's ardour for the anti-US struggle, which stems from their own experience, is steadily increasing.

With no amount of oppression can the US occupiers discourage the south Korean people's struggle.

The US imperialists will certainly be kicked out of south Korea, and Korea will definitely be reunified.

I take this opportunity to express my thanks to the Government, the people and the men of the press of the United Arab Republic for their invariable support and encouragement to the Korean people's struggle to reunify the country independently without outside interference

Question: *Your Excellency, what is your position to the ideological polemics in the socialist camp?*

Answer: Though differences exist today within the socialist camp, the socialist countries will fight together against imperialism and for the victory of socialism and communism.

As for us, we will firmly unite with all the socialist countries

and intensify the common struggle against imperialism, for the people's revolutionary cause.

Question: Your Excellency, what do you think are the major problems that have already been solved in Korea, and what are the ones yet to be solved on the way of the socialist revolution?

Answer: Our country was a backward colony before, and after liberation it was severely destroyed during the war unleashed by the US imperialists. We had many hardships and underwent trials. Through their united efforts, however, our people have done a great amount of work in the building of a new life.

We have transformed the old society and set up a solid socialist system. In the northern half of Korea the source of exploitation and poverty has been done away with and all the working people live harmoniously, helping each other to reach their common goal. By energetically carrying out the work of construction we have laid the foundations of an independent national economy which enables us to live on our own and make the country richer and stronger. We produce by ourselves nearly all machines and equipment and most of the necessary raw materials and other supplies for our use. We basically meet the people's demands for mass consumption goods with our own products, and we are also self-sufficient in food. We have exerted much effort to train the nation's cadres, with the result that we are running the state and building the economy and culture with our own cadres.

The people's living condition has also been considerably improved in our country. Though not bountiful, our people have no more worry about food, clothing and housing. In our country there is no unemployed and all working people are given free medical care and children and youths free education up to the in-

stitutes of higher learning. We have laid solid foundations for building socialism more splendidly in the northern half and secured enough assets to rehabilitate south Korea's economy and stabilize its people's livelihood after the country is reunified.

The greatest task before us is to accomplish our country's reunification. This is the Korean people's most burning national aspiration.

We are going to steadily consolidate the triumphant socialist system in the northern half and develop technology so as to realize industrialization and reinforce the technical equipment of agriculture. In this way we will strengthen the nation's political and economic might and raise the people's material and cultural living standards to a higher level.

The growth of the political and economic might of the northern half is a strong guarantee for the promotion of the country's reunification.

Question: When do you plan to send volunteers to help North Viet Nam? Are you going to send troops only? And what do you think is the influence the Viet Nam problem is exerting on the whole of Southeast Asia?

Answer: The war the US imperialists are waging against the Vietnamese people is a brigandish aggressive war which wantonly infringes on the Viet Nam's sovereignty in violation of all norms of international law.

Today the US imperialist aggressors are not only sending more troops and arms to South Viet Nam and intensifying the bombing of the Democratic Republic of Viet Nam but are scheming to spread the war to the vast area of Asia

This is a grave menace to the peace of Asia and the world and a grave challenge to the peoples of the socialist countries and the independent countries of Asia, Africa and Latin America and to the peace-loving people throughout the world. The heroic

war of resistance the Vietnamese people are carrying on against the US imperialist aggressors is not only a struggle to safeguard their country's freedom and independence but also a righteous war to defend peace in Asia and the world.

Therefore, the world's progressive people are duty bound and fully entitled to render all necessary assistance to the Vietnamese people who are waging a heroic struggle against US imperialism.

The Korean people regard it as their lofty internationalist duty to extend active support and encouragement to the fraternal Vietnamese people and are giving them all possible assistance. We are ready to send volunteers at any time when need be. As long as US imperialism's aggression in Viet Nam continues, the Korean people will increase their assistance to the Vietnamese people.

As declared by the South Viet Nam National Front for Liberation and the Government of the Democratic Republic of Viet Nam, the only solution to the Viet Nam question is for US imperialism to immediately stop its war of aggression in Viet Nam, pull out of South Viet Nam without delay, taking its invasion troops and all weapons, and leave the Viet Nam question to the Vietnamese people themselves to solve.

If the US imperialists continue to expand the aggressive war in Viet Nam in defiance of the just demand of the Vietnamese people and the warnings of the peoples of all countries, they are bound to meet a more miserable defeat.

Question: Your Excellency, what are the best means of consolidating the friendly relations between our two countries and what do you think of the Western attitude in consolidating Israel as an imperialist bridgehead and an obstacle to Arab progress and unity?

Answer: The peoples of our two countries were liberated

alike from imperialist oppression, and are fighting on the common front against imperialism. Both our peoples are fighting to create a new life and achieve national prosperity.

We should support and encourage each other in our anti-imperialist, anti-colonialist struggle and closely cooperate with each other in building a new life.

Today the relations of friendship and cooperation between our two countries are consolidating and developing day by day under the banner of anti-imperialism and anti-colonialism, under the banner of national independence and prosperity. This accords with the interests of our two peoples and contributes to the solidarity of the Asian, African and Latin-American peoples.

The Korean people treasure their friendship with the talented and heroic UAR people and actively support all their just struggles.

The Korean people fully understand the Arab people's struggle against the Israeli expansionists. Serving the US and British imperialists as an advance base of aggression in the Middle East against the Arab people, Israel is hindering Arab progress and threatening the Arab people's security. Our people strongly condemn the provocations of the US and British imperialists, West German militarists and Israeli expansionists against the Arab people and fully support the UAR people's struggle against them.

Our people also express firm solidarity with the Palestinian and all other Arab people in their struggle to liberate Palestine

The US and British imperialists and West German militarists who are perpetrating aggressive activities against the UAR and other Arab states, using Israel as a bridgehead, are bound to meet a shameful fiasco.

I am firmly convinced that the friendship between the peoples of our two countries will be further strengthened and developed in the future in the joint struggle against imperialism and colonialism and for the building of a new life.

ANSWERS TO THE QUESTIONS RAISED BY TAHA AL-BASRI, ASSISTANT DIRECTOR GENERAL OF THE IRAQI NEWS AGENCY

July 1, 1969

Question: What are Your Excellency's impressions concerning the fierce struggle waged by the people of south Korea against the US imperialist occupation for the liberation of the south and what are the bases Your Excellency proposes for the reunification of the two parts of the country?

Answer: As for the questions of the south Korean revolution and national reunification, we dealt with them in detail already in the report at the 20th anniversary celebration of the founding of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea last year. In addition, we have published many documents concerning the questions of the south Korean revolution and the country's reunification. They include the report at the Conference of the Workers' Party of Korea held in 1966. I think if you read these documents, you will fully understand our programme for national reunification and our position on the south Korean people's revolutionary struggle against the US imperialist occupiers.

The Korean people's greatest desire today is to reunify their divided country as soon as possible.

It can be said that the speedy attainment of our cause of na-

tional reunification depends mainly on the solution of the following three questions.

First, we must further strengthen our revolutionary base in all the political, economic and military fields by splendidly carrying out socialist construction in the northern half of the Republic; second, the south Korean people must wage their struggle more vigorously against the US imperialists and their stooges and quickly foster their own revolutionary forces; and third, the world's people, especially, the peoples making revolution and all the forces opposing imperialism must unite firmly and isolate and weaken the US imperialists to the maximum on a worldwide scale and, at the same time, give active support and encouragement to the Korean people in their struggle to drive out US imperialism and reunify the country independently.

In our opinion, reunification will be achieved in Korea when these three revolutionary forces are fully prepared and properly welded.

As is already declared widely to the south Korean people and the people of the whole world, it is our invariable desire to reunify Korea by peaceful means Our programme for national reunification is to establish a unified central government by holding a general election throughout the north and south on a democratic basis without any foreign interference after the withdrawal of the US imperialists from south Korea.

This position of ours is most correct and reasonable. It is because our programme for the country's reunification reflects the entire Korean people's firm consciousness of national independence and offers the possibility of solving the reunification question in a democratic way in accordance with the free will of the people from all walks of life irrespective of their party affiliations, political views, property status, standards of learning, religious faith or sex.

Expressing the Korean people's unanimous will and desire, the DPRK Government has repeatedly made most reasonable

and concrete proposals for the country's reunification and exerted every possible effort to put them into practice.

However, the US imperialists and the successive puppet rulers of south Korea have doggedly opposed our reasonable programme and proposals for the country's reunification and manoeuvred in every way to perpetuate the division of our country.

The greatest obstacle in the way to our country's peaceful reunification is the US imperialist occupation of south Korea. So long as the aggressive troops of US imperialism stay on in south Korea, there can be no general election throughout north and south Korea based on the free will of the people. Therefore, for the peaceful reunification of Korea, first of all, the US imperialist aggressive troops must pull out from south Korea.

Nevertheless, the US imperialists would not quit south Korea of their own accord. Furthermore, the south Korean puppets protected by their bayonets are begging them not to withdraw their aggressive troops from south Korea.

This is by no means the expression of the genuine will of the south Korean people. Like the people in the northern half, the south Korean people demand the earliest possible withdrawal of US imperialism from south Korea and want to reunify the country independently and peacefully on a democratic basis.

after the US imperialist aggression army has been forced out of south Korea and the south Korean people have overthrown the present puppet regime and the progressive forces have come into power. If the US imperialists get out of south Korea and the democratic, progressive forces with national conscience seize power even now, we are ready to hold peaceful negotiations with them on the question of the country's reunification

The south Korean people's revolutionary struggle develops as the days go by although the US imperialists and the present south Korean puppet clique are making desperate efforts to check this struggle by means of intensifying their fascist repression.

The south Korean people are well aware that they can reunify the country peacefully only by forcing the US imperialists, target number one in their struggle, out of south Korea and smashing their stooge, the Pak Jung Hi puppet regime; and they are dynamically waging various forms of struggle against US imperialism and its lackeys to materialize their desire for national reunification at the earliest possible date

Of late in south Korea, a large number of youths and students have risen up to stage vigorous demonstrations against the Pak Jung Hi puppet clique's hasty manoeuvre for the "constitutional amendment for the third-term presidential election" which is designed to keep themselves in "power" for a long time to come

It is true that the south Korean people's revolutionary struggle is arduous However, they have been tempered in the course of their protracted struggle against the oppressors and are ceaselessly enlarging their fighting ranks and continually accumulating their revolutionary forces.

The south Korean people also have the experience of the heroic struggle that overthrew the puppet regime of Syngman Rhee, the old lackey of US imperialism Through their arduous

struggle the south Korean people have been further awakened and more clearly realized how they should fight to win victory. Many excellent revolutionary leaders are also growing up among the fighting ranks of the south Korean people.

The south Korean people will certainly drive the US imperialists out of south Korea and crush the Pak Jung Hi puppet regime; and the day is not far off when they will establish a people's government for themselves and reunify the country together with the people in the northern half. This is our firm belief.

Today the US imperialists, in a foolish attempt to cover up their foul nature as aggressors before the world's people, are making preposterous false propaganda about our "aggression" against south Korea and clamouring that the revolutionary movement taking place in south Korea is being engineered by the northern half of the Republic. In the meantime, they are perpetrating ceaseless provocations against the north and trying to threaten us with war while harshly repressing the south Korean people's struggle.

However, with no deceptive artifice can the US imperialists hoodwink the world's people, and by no amount of threat can they scare the Korean people.

The Korean people will never tolerate the unlawful occupation of south Korea by the US imperialists and will never give up their aspiration to attain national reunification.

Today, just as in the past, the Iraqi people actively support the Korean people in their struggle against US imperialist aggression and for the country's reunification. This is a great inspiration to the Korean people. We are grateful to the Iraqi people for this, and express the conviction that they will continue to render active support to our people's just struggle.

Question: We are sure that Your Excellency is well aware of the

struggle waged by the Arab people against Zionism and imperialism What is Your Excellency's opinion about the armed struggle waged by the Arabs to liberate Palestine?

Answer: Our Government and social organizations have issued statements on a number of occasions, supporting the Arab people's struggle against the Zionist and imperialist aggression and for the liberation of Palestine.

The Arab people are valiantly fighting with arms in their hands against the burglarious, brazen invasion by the Israeli expansionists and their manipulators, the imperialists led by US imperialism. The anti-US, anti-Israeli struggle of the Arab people today is a just struggle to defend national independence and dignity, restore the occupied Arab territory and accomplish the Palestinian people's cause of liberation.

The Korean people positively support the Arab people's just struggle and express firm solidarity with them. As in the past, so in the future, our people will firmly stand by the valiant Palestinian people who are waging armed struggles to liberate their fatherland and by all the Arab people fighting determinedly against the Zionist and imperialist aggression, and will always advance shoulder to shoulder with the Arab people in the anti-imperialist, anti-US struggle.

We regard you Arab people's struggle as our own and are deeply convinced that your righteous battle will surely triumph.

The US imperialists are now on the decline; they are facing fierce anti-imperialist national-liberation struggles of the people and being hit harder everywhere in the world When the revolutionary and progressive people of the whole world pool their strength and fight resolutely against US imperialism and its stooges, the US imperialists, Israeli expansionists and all other reactionaries are bound to ruin however strong and atrocious US imperialism may be.

Question: As being one of the most prominent leaders of socialism, what are Your Excellency's impressions about the social gains that were the outcome of the July 17, 1968 Revolution in Iraq? What are Your Excellency's viewpoints about the executions of the US and Israeli spies that were caught in Iraq?

Answer: As our Government has already stated, the Korean people join the Iraqi people in fully supporting the measures taken by the Revolutionary Government of Iraq to safeguard the revolution and the revolutionary gains in Iraq. Korea's working class and people sincerely wish the Iraqi working class and people to win fresh victories under the leadership of the Revolutionary Government of Iraq in the struggle to shatter the aggressive ambitions of US imperialism and the Israeli expansionists, consolidate the country's independence and create a new life.

As for the execution of the US and Israeli spies caught in Iraq, I consider it was a perfectly correct action which was taken to guard national security and the gains of the revolution from the enemy's subversive and sabotaging activities. You must have no mercy on the imperialist spies who menace your country's sovereignty and security but must only wage an uncompromising struggle against the enemy of the revolution. The Korean people express full support to the Iraqi people who meted out severe punishment upon the malicious espionage agents of US imperialism and the Israeli aggressors.

ANSWERS TO THE QUESTIONS RAISED BY ABDEL HAMID AHMED HAMROUCHE, GENERAL MANAGER OF DAR-EL-TAHRIR FOR PRINTING AND PUBLISHING OF THE UNITED ARAB REPUBLIC

July 1, 1969

Question: Comrade Premier, the revolutionary spirit of self-reliance is the most important thing I have learned about on my visit to Korea. During my stay here I have seen that this spirit is embodied splendidly in all aspects of your domestic and foreign policies. I have seen clearly how the principle of self-reliance is actually carried through at home, in particular. But I cannot say I have fully understood everything in such a short time. So could you please tell me something more about it, Comrade Premier?

Answer: As for the situation in our country, you have heard about it from the Chairman of the Central Committee of the Journalists' Union, Editor-in-Chief of *Rodong Sinmun*, I suppose.

As you have probably noticed, we had no mean success in creating a new society and a new life in the past. We owe our past success entirely to the correct policies and sagacious leadership of our Party and Government and to the courageous struggle of our people who strove to implement the Party's policies.

In leading the revolutionary struggles and the work of construction our Party has taken the idea of Juche as its invariable

guiding compass, and our people, armed with the Party's idea of Juche, have waged an indomitable struggle in the revolutionary spirit of self-reliance.

We are making the Korean revolution. As far as the Korean revolution is concerned, Koreans know about it better than anyone else. The masters of the Korean revolution are the Korean people and our own strength is the decisive factor in its victory. No foreigners can tell us how to bring about the Korean revolution or carry it out in our stead. In order to ensure that the Korean revolution is a success, its masters, the Korean people themselves, must use their own brains, solve all problems that arise through their own efforts and settle them in conformity with the interests of the Korean revolution.

That is why we have held that the most important task is to establish Juche in all fields of the revolution and construction, and have fought to this end ever since the first days of liberation.

To establish Juche means, in short, to live by your own sense and your own strength without following others blindly or trying to live with help from others. It means to hold a consistent position in tackling everything in conformity to your own actual circumstances, in the interests of the revolution of your own country.

We have firmly established Juche in ideology, and embodied it thoroughly throughout the political, economic and military fields. Juche in ideology, independence in politics, self-support in the economy and self-defence in national defence—this is our Party's consistent stand.

Our Party has so far adhered firmly to the stand of Juche, solving all the problems of the revolution and construction independently in conformity with the specific conditions of our country and, in the main, through our own efforts. Our people have all carried on the struggle in the revolutionary spirit of self-reliance, which calls on us to accomplish the revolution and build

socialism and communism in our country through our own efforts and using our national resources, ridding ourselves of the idea of dependence upon others.

As a result of the establishment of Juche and self-reliant efforts, we have been able to advance the country's revolution as speedily as possible and win victories and successes surmounting manifold hardships and trials. Juche and self-reliance —these are the basic guarantees for all our achievements.

You might have seen our film shot right after the armistice; the war destroyed so many things in our country. Everything was burnt down and destroyed and only ashes were to be found in our towns and villages. In Pyongyang, for example, nothing was left after the war but a few houses and even they were badly damaged. Our country was truly in a very difficult situation, confronted with a mountain of hardships.

But we were not at all discouraged. We set out on the postwar rehabilitation and construction, fully convinced that we could rise to our feet again in any adversity, so long as the Party, the power, the people and the territory were there. Our Party convinced the people that they could rise again from the debris, though everything was almost destroyed by the war, if they relied on their own efforts, and it energetically aroused the people to a gigantic struggle for postwar rehabilitation and construction. The Party called upon people from all walks of life to contribute what they had to the sacred cause of building the socialist homeland: those who had physical strength gave their physical strength, those who had wisdom their wisdom, and those who had technical skill contributed their technical skill.

The entire people of our country, in active response to the Party's call, rose as one and waged a courageous struggle, devoting all their energies, wisdom and technical skill. Our working people manufactured machines for themselves and rebuilt factories, producing what they previously lacked and searching

out more of what was not enough. Furthermore, they made new scientific inventions, technical innovations and creative suggestions, thus solving tough and knotty problems facing our country through their own efforts. Our patriotic intellectuals especially made a great contribution.

Let me cite a few examples.

Under Japanese imperialist rule there was hardly any textile industry in the northern half of our country. There were no more than a few thousand spindles and the per capita output of fabrics was barely 14 centimetres. Even after liberation it was not so easy to ensure adequate clothing for the people. Our country has a poor harvest of cotton because we have much rain in summer, so the question of fibres still remained a headache.

Our scientists, displaying the spirit of self-reliance, satisfactorily solved this difficult question. Some scientists devised the method of making vinalon from limestone which abounds in our country, and others invented a method of producing fibre from the reeds which grow in plenty in Korea. Thus we came to solve completely the problem of clothing for the people using the efforts of our own scientists and domestic raw materials.

Our iron industry, too, faced many unresolved problems. Coking coal is not produced in our country, and we had to import it to produce iron. But our scientists succeeded in producing iron with anthracite of which we have inexhaustible supplies. The result was that we opened up an avenue to the production of iron with our domestic raw materials. This was another great contribution to consolidating the foundations of the country's independent economy.

Now some countries produce fertilizers by means of electrolysing water. But this method requires too much electricity, so it does not suit us. Our scientists, therefore, devised a method of producing fertilizers by gasifying the coal of our country.

In addition, various kinds of minerals have been found, which were formerly regarded as nonexistent in our country and

they have aided the rapid development of industry. A great deal has also been done in the rural irrigation as we have devised ways and means unknown outside Korea. Again, the work of construction could be pushed ahead rapidly because it was done using our domestic raw materials and building materials.

The idea of Juche and the spirit of self-reliance have likewise been embodied creditably in the fields of education and culture.

The cadres and people of our country are inured to self-reliance and have developed great courage Whatever task the Party may set forth, they readily accept it, without the slightest hesitation, and always carry it through to the end by their own efforts and talents, however difficult and hard it may be.

When we were rebuilding and constructing blast furnaces soon after the armistice, we had no technicians and were short of equipment and materials. To make things easy, we could have invited foreign technicians and procured equipment from abroad. But we did not have enough money to do so at the time. So we took bold measures. We provisionally graduated the third-year students of the technical college in advance and asked them to design and build furnaces. There were about 200 of them, and they worked hard day and night and succeeded in building excellent furnaces in a little over a year.

Had we built furnaces with foreign help, it would have cost us much time as well as much money. It would have taken a year to design them, another year to manufacture the equipment plus a very long period of time to bring them in, it would have taken four or five years at least to complete the construction of furnaces.

If we rely on foreign countries to build a furnace, large amounts of funds and time must be spent, but if we rely on our own efforts, we can build a good furnace in the short period of a year. How nice it is to rely on our own efforts!

Large funds are also necessary to import such things as

electric locomotives. We could not afford to buy from foreign countries large numbers of electric locomotives needed in our country. Therefore, we assigned our college students and technicians to the task of designing and building locomotives by themselves. Our technicians are now in a position to turn out fine electric locomotives using their own techniques and efforts, and we are electrifying nearly all the railway lines in the country with homemade locomotives.

Whenever we got a good machine, we copied it and opened up let-one-machine-tool-make-machine-tools movements everywhere and thus developed the nation's machine-building industry. Today we manufacture automobiles, tractors and different kinds of weapons on our own; we make almost everything we need through our own efforts.

By relying on our own efforts in this way, we have laid down solid foundations for an independent national economy and built up an impregnable defence power for the country and have been able to fully solve the problems of food, clothing and housing for the people.

In our country today homemade up-to-date machines are working at the construction sites, our own tractors ploughing the fields, and strings of *Charyokgaengsaeng* (Self-Reliance) motor vehicles running along the roads. Our brave People's Army is impregnably safeguarding the nation's defence line with the weapons made by our working class. It is true that our people's livelihood is not so generous as that in advanced countries. However, we all eat our fill with the rice we produce in our country, and do not have to purchase it from foreign countries. We all lead decent lives in the houses built by ourselves; we are dressed in clothing made of our own fabrics, and use the daily necessities of our own make.

As a result of the establishment of Juche and our self-reliant efforts we have turned our country, once a backward colonial agrarian nation, into this advanced socialist industrial-

agricultural country in a very short span of time. Today our people have become a dignified nation whom no one would dare to flout.

Some say that a small country need not have a comprehensively developed industry and others say that it would be better if we produced only some of the things which are needed in the country, and bought the rest from foreign countries. Certainly, at a given stage of development of the productive forces we may buy from abroad things which are not produced or are in slight demand in our country. But the main thing is to set it as a principle to build an independent national industry through our own efforts and using our own resources. In particular, we ourselves must produce things which are in great demand at home, along with important raw materials and other materials. Only by so doing can we ensure the independence of the national economy.

The idea of Juche and the spirit of self-reliance do not involve nationalism. We establish Juche and rely on our own efforts in order to build socialism and communism faster and better. Koreans are bound to build socialism and communism in Korea and live in Korea. They could not abandon their country to live in some other country, could they? If we build socialism and communism well in Korea through self-reliance, it means we carry out our national duty and, at the same time, we are faithful to our international duty. All this will be conducive to the advancement of world revolution.

In establishing Juche and relying on our own efforts we do not intend to reject international solidarity, mutual cooperation and assistance among fraternal countries and solve everything by ourselves. We consistently insist that international solidarity among the fraternal countries should be further strengthened, and we think it is vital that we cooperate with and assist one another.

We were given active support and encouragement by other

electric locomotives. We could not afford to buy from foreign countries large numbers of electric locomotives needed in our country. Therefore, we assigned our college students and technicians to the task of designing and building locomotives by themselves. Our technicians are now in a position to turn out fine electric locomotives using their own techniques and efforts, and we are electrifying nearly all the railway lines in the country with homemade locomotives.

Whenever we got a good machine, we copied it and opened up let-one-machine-tool-make-machine-tools movements everywhere and thus developed the nation's machine-building industry. Today we manufacture automobiles, tractors and different kinds of weapons on our own; we make almost everything we need through our own efforts.

By relying on our own efforts in this way, we have laid down solid foundations for an independent national economy and built up an impregnable defence power for the country and have been able to fully solve the problems of food, clothing and housing for the people.

In our country today homemade up-to-date machines are working at the construction sites, our own tractors ploughing the fields, and strings of *Charyokgaengsaeng* (Self-Reliance) motor vehicles running along the roads. Our brave People's Army is impregnably safeguarding the nation's defence line with the weapons made by our working class. It is true that our people's livelihood is not so generous as that in advanced countries. However, we all eat our fill with the rice we produce in our country, and do not have to purchase it from foreign countries. We all lead decent lives in the houses built by ourselves; we are dressed in clothing made of our own fabrics, and use the daily necessities of our own make.

As a result of the establishment of Juche and our self-reliant efforts we have turned our country, once a backward colonial agrarian nation, into this advanced socialist industrial-

agricultural country in a very short span of time. Today our people have become a dignified nation whom no one would dare to flout.

Some say that a small country need not have a comprehensively developed industry and others say that it would be better if we produced only some of the things which are needed in the country, and bought the rest from foreign countries. Certainly, at a given stage of development of the productive forces we may buy from abroad things which are not produced or are in slight demand in our country. But the main thing is to set it as a principle to build an independent national industry through our own efforts and using our own resources. In particular, we ourselves must produce things which are in great demand at home, along with important raw materials and other materials. Only by so doing can we ensure the independence of the national economy.

The idea of Juche and the spirit of self-reliance do not involve nationalism. We establish Juche and rely on our own efforts in order to build socialism and communism faster and better. Koreans are bound to build socialism and communism in Korea and live in Korea. They could not abandon their country to live in some other country, could they? If we build socialism and communism well in Korea through self-reliance, it means we carry out our national duty and, at the same time, we are faithful to our international duty. All this will be conducive to the advancement of world revolution.

In establishing Juche and relying on our own efforts we do not intend to reject international solidarity, mutual cooperation and assistance among fraternal countries and solve everything by ourselves. We consistently insist that international solidarity among the fraternal countries should be further strengthened, and we think it is vital that we cooperate with and assist one another.

We were given active support and encouragement by other

socialist countries and the peace-loving people of the world, during the difficult days of postwar rehabilitation and construction. We also received no small assistance from the fraternal socialist countries. The successes achieved in the postwar rehabilitation and construction of our country are also associated with these friends' helping hands. We are grateful for this and remember this.

We benefit from the advanced learning of foreign countries and draw on their good experience. We also get foreign help when we undertake something we have no previous experience of or tackle something new to us. And we purchase from abroad things unobtainable in our country. We have built a thermal power station with the help of Soviet technicians. We are also building an oil refinery with their help because oil is not yet produced in our country. It is certain that next we will build thermal power stations and oil refineries using our own technicians.

We consider it necessary that fraternal countries should cooperate and assist each other. We get help from other countries, but we do not depend entirely upon it. Even in the days of postwar rehabilitation and construction we always made it a rule that we should rely on our own efforts and we did not attach all importance to foreign assistance. It is all the more so today. Foreign assistance has limitations, however sincerely intended it may be, and can only play an auxiliary role in building the national economy. It is impossible to satisfactorily meet our own demands in time with the assistance of foreign countries.

If too much stress is laid on foreign assistance or an attempt is made to rely entirely on others, it will make people lose faith in their own strength and neglect their endeavours to tap the inner resources of their own country, blindly pinning their hopes on others and simply imitating them. Then, in the end, it will be impossible to succeed in building a sovereign, independent state. You are a writer, so you cannot write a good article nor improve your writing if you merely imitate or copy others' arti-

cles. You can write a good article and raise your writing standards only if you use your own brains.

Our experience shows that it is possible to successfully build an independent national economy, bringing prosperity and progress to the country, only when Juche is thoroughly established and the main stress is put on self-reliance.

You speak very highly of our country's success made in socialist construction. But it is, as yet, no more than an initial success. We are not at all self-complacent with our successes to date

We have a lot of things to do. We have not yet reunified our country. The southern half of our land is still under the occupation of US imperialism, the ringleader of world imperialism. Our nation's supreme revolutionary task is to chase the US imperialists away, so as to accomplish the reunification of the country.

In order to reunify the divided land and hasten the nationwide victory of the revolution we should effect the socialist construction better in the northern half of the Republic and further strengthen our revolutionary forces in all the political, economic and military fields. Especially, we are faced with the vital task of consolidating more firmly the foundations of the independent national economy by rapidly developing the nation's industry.

It is true that we have many difficulties and hardships ahead. However, they are not the difficulties of marking time or the hardships of retreating; they are the difficulties and hardships on the way of our advance.

By our people's revolutionary mettle we mean that we do not sink in despair before difficulties or yield to hardships, on the contrary we make continuous innovations and continuous advances to fresh victories. We will, in the future, as in the past, continue to firmly establish Juche in all spheres of social life and display to the full the revolutionary spirit of self-reliance, there-

by surmounting all difficulties and hardships with courage and discharging the national and international duties that fall to us with credit.

Question: Comrade Premier, in your report at the 20th anniversary celebration of the foundation of your Republic you said it is a sad thing that there are differences within the socialist camp, differences which should be overcome. Do you think that the differences within the socialist camp have deepened any further since September 1968?

Answer: As we said before and say still now, there are differences between the socialist countries and we are not by any means going to conceal them.

But the differences between the socialist countries must in no way be identified with the contradictions between the imperialist powers or with the contradictions of the different state and social systems which exist between the socialist and imperialist countries. In all the socialist countries power is in the hands of the working class and communal ownership of the means of production is established, with the result that exploitation and oppression of man by man is eliminated. Between the socialist countries, therefore, there can be no contradictions such as those which reflect the fundamentally different interests between the hostile classes.

The differences between the socialist countries are, in all respects, the differences between fraternal countries fighting together for the common goal. If there are differences between the socialist countries, they are mainly differences over the estimation of imperialism and over strategic and tactical questions in the anti-imperialist struggle.

Some overestimate the strength of imperialism, US imperialism in particular, and do not wage an active anti-imperialist, anti-US struggle, thinking that once the imperialists explode an

atom bomb the whole world would perish. We cannot agree with this.

Imperialism should not be underestimated, of course, but it should not be overestimated, either. Imperialism, US imperialism above all, is already on the decline.

If the US imperialists are not on the decline, why did they suffer defeat in the Korean war? If the US imperialists are not doomed like the sun setting behind the western hills, why are *they suffering such setbacks in South Viet Nam? These examples* show that the days of US imperialism are already numbered.

The imperialists did not dare to ignite war when the people of the UAR, who had been freed from the yoke of imperialism and were embarking upon the creation of a new life, nationalized the Suez Canal under the leadership of President Nasser.

The Algerian people fought valiantly against the French imperialists and won independence and many other African countries have set out to build a new life, emancipated from the imperialist yoke. The colonial ruling system of imperialism is collapsing irresistibly on the African continent.

Then, is it quiet in Latin America? No, certainly not. Anti-US, anti-dictatorship struggles are being forcefully unfolded by the peoples; the US imperialists are helpless and hard hit here in a continent which used to be called the "quiet backyard" of the United States. The revolutionary Cuban people are gallantly building socialism right under the nose of the US imperialists. Not long ago, Nixon's "special envoy" met the surging anti-US resistance of the peoples in Latin-American countries and was in the end turned away at their doors.

Imperialism is attacked not only from without but also from within and is confronted with an acute crisis. The black people's struggle against racial discrimination and for freedom and democratic rights and an anti-war movement of the masses of the people are going on extensively in the United States, and in France as well, the working class and the broad masses

launched a struggle and forced De Gaulle's dictatorial regime to resign from power.

All these are manifestations of the decline of imperialism.

As you see, there are differences between the socialist countries over the questions of how to estimate imperialism, how to struggle against it and how to support the liberation movement of the peoples.

The differences between the socialist countries are, as it were, something like a casual family conflict. Even brothers quarrel with each other occasionally, and how is it most unlikely that there would never be differences between the fraternal countries?

This is our view on the question of differences between the socialist countries.

Well, the question you are interested in is whether such differences have recently been aggravated, but we do not view the matter in that light.

Quarrels may increase or diminish sometimes, since the differences between the socialist countries still remain unsettled. Yet, this does not mean that the differences have deepened, much less can it be considered that the socialist countries are completely split from each other.

If any of the socialist countries had completely gone over to the side of imperialism, that would be a different matter. But, as no single socialist country has done this since the differences arose, and as such a thing is impossible, it cannot be considered that the socialist countries are completely severed from each other. The peoples of all the socialist countries struggle to attain the common goal of building free and happy socialist, communist society and the socialist countries are united in the alliance demanded by the class solidarity of the international working class which has triumphed in the struggle against world imperialism and colonialism. Accordingly, the peoples of the socialist countries will never separate from each other.

The socialist countries will eventually get over the differences and have the same view, and fight on together against imperialism for the victory of socialism and communism.

Any manoeuvre on the part of the imperialists to estrange and split the socialist countries is bound to end in a shameful fiasco.

Question: Do I understand that the reason why your Party did not attend the recent international conference of the Communist and Workers' Parties convened in Moscow was based precisely upon this analysis of the differences within the socialist camp?

Answer: In principle, our Party has no objection to an international conference of the Communist and Workers' Parties. It is a necessary and good thing for the fraternal parties to sit at the same table and discuss together, as comrades, important questions for the advancement of the international communist and working-class movements and lay down common tasks in the struggle to achieve unity of action. This sort of conference will lead to the development of world revolution and contribute to the cause of unity.

However, to achieve the aim of the international conference of the fraternal parties, the conference should be convened after ample preparations, when all conditions have matured. If an international conference is convened under the present conditions, it may further expose the differences between the fraternal parties to the enemies. And such a meeting will not benefit the cause of solidarity, either

Our Party, proceeding from the desire for solidarity among all the fraternal parties and in the interests of the Korean revolution and the international revolutionary movement, refrains from participating in any international conference of the fraternal parties under the present circumstances, believing that

the conditions are not yet ripe. This is our Party's consistent stand.

Question: Comrade Premier, haven't you anything to say to the people of the UAR through newspapers of Dar-El-Tahrir?

Answer: The people of the UAR under the leadership of President Nasser are valiantly battling against imperialism led by the US imperialists and their henchmen, the Israeli aggressors, and for defending national independence; they are registering great successes in their struggle to build a new society.

The Korean people sincerely rejoice over the successes of the people of the UAR and extend full support and encouragement to them in their righteous struggle. Our people regard your anti-imperialist, anti-colonial struggle as support for our own cause of national reunification.

The Korean people are happy to have the people of the UAR as their comrades-in-arms and will always march ahead shoulder to shoulder with them in the common struggle against the US and other imperialists.

Availing myself of this opportunity, I sincerely wish the people of the UAR fresh successes in their struggle to force the Israeli aggressors out of the occupied territory and defend the dignity of the Arab people and build a prosperous country.

ANSWERS TO THE QUESTIONS RAISED BY THE DELEGATION OF THE DEMOCRATIC YOUTH LEAGUE OF FINLAND FOR THE KANSAN UUTISET, CENTRAL ORGAN OF THE COMMUNIST PARTY OF FINLAND

September 2, 1969

Question: US imperialism has intensified its manoeuvres against the Democratic People's Republic of Korea Do you think that the violations of the territory, territorial waters and territorial airspace of the DPRK, perpetrated by the US Imperialists, are a prelude to what will eventually be a more extensive armed intervention against your country and that this will lead, in the end, to a total war?

Answer: At present the peace-loving people of the whole world, like you, follow the developments in our country with deep interest and are very concerned about the abnormal situation in our country.

In fact, today, the situation is very complex and tense The US imperialists are perpetrating armed provocations almost every day against the DPRK and aggravating the situation to the extreme.

As regards the uninterrupted intrusions of the US imperialists into our sacred territory, territorial waters and air, these are *no accidental happenings but links in the chain of their* premeditated manoeuvres to unleash a new war in Korea.

Ever since the first days they wormed into south Korea, the US imperialists have consistently pursued and are still pursuing the base aim of not only turning south Korea into a total colony but also, using south Korea as the stepping stone, of carrying out aggression against the whole of Korea and Asia and, further, against the socialist camp. It is in order to achieve this aim that they are trying to maintain their colonial domination over south Korea by all ways and means. By force of the bayonet the US imperialists set up a most ferocious colonial fascist dictatorship in south Korea, a puppet regime which faithfully carries out their policies of military aggression and colonial enslavement; through this regime and with the so-called "aid" as a bait, they have taken hold of all the political, economic, cultural and military affairs of south Korea and converted it into a US military base for aggression, into a military appendage to the United States.

The US imperialist manoeuvres to provoke a new war in Korea have been especially intensified in recent years. The US imperialists have revealed their predatory nature in a more overt way and carried out armed provocations against the DPRK every day, taking the situation to the brink of war. Last year alone, they made armed attacks on our side of the Military Demarcation Line on more than 2,000 occasions and infiltrated numerous spies into the territory of the northern half of the Republic to perpetrate subversion and acts of sabotage. In March this year, in order to test their preparedness for another war in Korea, the US imperialists went so far as to stage a most provocative military exercise, under the name of "Operation Focus Retina", "airlifting", en masse, troops of aggression and combat materiel from the US mainland to south Korea.

In order to unleash a new war, the US imperialists have, of late, embarked upon more openly perpetrating various forms of espionage against our country. They frequently create hostile provocations on the one hand, by sending their armed spy ships

in broad daylight to penetrate far into the territorial waters of our country and, on the other, intensify aggressive aerial reconnaissance over our territory. As is known throughout the world, the US imperialist aggressors sent their armed spy ship *Pueblo* deep into the territorial waters of our country to carry out espionage activities in January last year; they were caught redhanded and received due punishment, but, instead of learning their lesson, they still carry on espionages. As the US imperialists themselves made public, for the past few months of this year, their reconnaissance planes have flown over our territory, carrying out espionage activities hundreds of times, on April 15 last, a large-size spy plane *EC-121* was dispatched to penetrate far into the territorial air of the Republic, but was shot down while carrying out espionage activities by the valiant men of the Korean People's Army.

It was in the exercise of sovereignty as recognized by international law that we shot down the US imperialist spy plane which had violated our airspace and committed hostile acts. It is the sacred and inviolable right of the people of every country to defend their sovereignty and take measures of self-defence against those who try to infringe upon it.

However, as their spy plane came in for severe punishment, the US imperialists are ridiculously manoeuvring to justify their criminal acts with high-flown sophistry and are plunging into more reckless war hysteria. The aggressors of US imperialism are declaring that they will continue reconnaissance flights over our country in the future, provided with "armed escort"; they draw a false picture, as if their espionage activities against our country were some sort of measure "necessary" for the security of the United States and some sort of "right" conferred upon them.

As the world history of war shows, this kind of provocation is a deliberate act of aggression committed by imperialists only on the eve of war, for the purpose of detecting foreign military

installations and other military secrets and making a pretext for sparking off war.

These days many of US imperialist war bosses come to south Korea and stir up activity along the front-line areas and military bases, and the south Korean puppets are summoned to Washington almost every month for one conspiracy after another. This too shows how madly they are moving to provoke a new war of aggression in Korea.

The US imperialists and their lackeys have now established a "wartime structure" throughout south Korea; they have issued emergency mobilization orders to the US occupation troops in south Korea and the south Korean puppet army and have entered a "special alert", strengthening their armed forces along the Military Demarcation Line.

Judging from all omens it is obvious that unless we maintain the sharpest revolutionary vigilance and make every preparation, the US imperialists may launch a new war of aggression against the DPRK at any moment. The situation is very tense and dangerous conditions have been created in our country; war may be unleashed by the US imperialists even tomorrow, or the day after. If the US imperialists and their lackeys continue to provoke us, we will not just sit there our arms folded, and if this process of attack and counterattack is repeated, it will, in the long run, develop into total war.

Question: Are there any instances of the increase of US military potentialities on south Korean soil? If they have increased, to what degree do you think it is linked with the premeditated heightening of tension and the danger of total war?

Answer: Since south Korea is a US imperialist military base of aggression, with a view to invading the whole of Korea and Asia, there are already tremendous US military potentialities there. The US imperialists keep more than 60,000 US troops and

the armed forces of other satellite countries in south Korea and permanently maintain the huge 700,000 strong puppet army. And through military occupation and "aid", they have seized real power in south Korea and completely subordinated manpower and material resources to their military objectives and war policy.

The US imperialists have incessantly increased their military potentialities in south Korea in systematic violation of the Armistice Agreement after the war, and in recent years in particular, have embarked upon further reinforcing them. This is directly related to the frantic US imperialist preparations in south Korea for another war of aggression against the DPRK.

For a war of aggression the US imperialists are reinforcing the US occupation army in south Korea and increasing their combat capabilities all the more. They have already introduced into south Korea large quantities of tactical nuclear weapons, guided missiles and other weapons of mass destruction and, of late, they formed what they call the 71st task fleet with a huge armed force and assigned them off the DPRK. At the same time, they increased fighter-bombers in south Korean bases by several hundreds.

In increasing their military potentialities in south Korea the US imperialists are especially interested in the reinforcement of the numerical strength of the south Korean puppet army and the modernization of their military equipment.

The south Korean puppet army is a colonial mercenary army which exclusively serves the US imperialist policy of aggression. It is not without reason that the US imperialists are [illegible], to such a great extent, the puppet army [illegible] of aggression. For the upkeep of a [illegible] puppet army the US imperialists [illegible] what it would cost for the maintenance of [illegible] army of aggression. So, the US imperialists [illegible] middle-aged south Koreans [illegible]

poses of aggression and thereby "cut" their military expenditures greatly. Furthermore, by employing a huge puppet army instead of their own troops, they make believe as if the south Korean puppet army serves some national interests, beautifying and embellishing themselves as "helper".

For this purpose, the US imperialists have augmented the number of the ground forces of the south Korean puppet army from the 16 divisions immediately following armistice to 29 divisions plus 4 brigades and have activated atomic and guided missile units, encouraging large-scale reinforcements of the south Korean puppet navy and air force.

The US imperialists and their lackeys have become all the more furious in their manoeuvres to reinforce the numerical strength of the south Korean puppet army since the *Pueblo* incident and the shooting down of the *EC-121* spy plane. The numerical strength of the puppet army has swollen by almost 100,000 over the last one or two years in south Korea, as a result of a number of measures such as suspension of demobilization of men from the puppet army and extension of the terms of military service, while reorganizing reserve divisions in the rear into combat divisions and activating new units.

What merit special attention are the manoeuvres of the US imperialists and their henchmen to form the "Homeland Reserve Force". For the purpose of reinforcing local mercenaries in south Korea, the US imperialists manufactured the "Homeland Reserve Force", forced over two million youth and middle-aged men in south Korea to join up and are now pushing forward full rearmament. They have placed the "Homeland Reserve Force" under the command of the puppet army and enforced military training and have already prepared "call-up papers" so that it can be thrown into battles at any time.

In accordance with the requirements of the US imperialist policies of aggression and war, all over south Korea, military airfields, harbours, rocket bases, strategic roads and various

other military bases and military installations are today being built or expanded in a big way.

The US imperialists have converted south Korea into a huge army camp where massive armed forces are concentrated and everything is geared to war policy, into a drill ground for the provocation of a new war. This glaringly shows the aggressive design of the US imperialists to conquer the DPRK by "force".

Owing to these manoeuvres of the US imperialists and their stooges to increase the military potentialities in south Korea, the tension is now being further aggravated and every day the danger of a new war of aggression in our country increases.

Question: Do you think the outbreak of total war on Korea can be checked?

Answer: The situation in our country has become very strained today due to the intensified US imperialist manoeuvres for aggression and provocation of another war, but I think total war can be checked if we actively struggle to safeguard peace.

Proceeding from the intrinsic nature of our state and social system which is alien to exploitation and oppression of any kind, the Government of the DPRK upholds, as the basis of its foreign policy, opposing aggression against other countries and fighting for peace and democracy, national independence and social progress. As a peace-loving people, we, the Korean people, do not want to be the first to provoke any one. We have never invaded a single inch of foreign territory in our history, nor have we infringed, in the least, upon the sovereignty and security of other countries.

The imperialists, however, make aggression and war their regular business, their basic means of existence. Aggression and war are a constant companion of imperialism. US imperialism, in particular, has carried out all sorts of foul atrocious plunder

everywhere in the world by means of the most brutal and barbarous wars since the first days of its birth, and has fattened on the sweat and blood of hundreds of millions of people.

The situation has become aggravated to the extreme in Korea today and has engendered the danger that war may break out again at any moment, not because we have committed any act of violating the territory of the United States of America or menacing its sovereignty and security, but because the US imperialists have come to our country, thousands of miles away from theirs and stepped up their policies of aggression and war against the Korean people. The source of war in Korea lies in the occupation of south Korea by the US imperialists and their policy of aggression towards the DPRK; and, accordingly, the outbreak of total war in Korea, too, depends entirely on the US imperialists.

To check war in Korea, this source of conflagration must be removed. If the US imperialists get out of the southern half of our country, taking their army of aggression and lethal weapons with them, and desist from hostilities against the DPRK, total war will be prevented and peace maintained in Korea. This is the fundamental requisite for preventing a new and total war in Korea.

Following the withdrawal of the US imperialist army of aggression from Korea, we may conclude a peace agreement whereby north and south Korea will pledge not to invade each other and may take measures to reduce the armed forces of north and south Korea to 100,000 or less, respectively. This will become a reliable guarantee for maintaining a durable peace in Korea.

The concluding of a peace agreement between north and south Korea and a sharp reduction in the armed forces of north and south Korea in this way, after the withdrawal of the US imperialist army of aggression, is the very way to prevent total war breaking out in Korea and remove the danger of war.

The US imperialists, however, oppose this tooth and nail and are advancing perilously down the road to war.

The DPRK Government and the Korean people have made and are still making every real effort to frustrate the reckless manoeuvres of the US imperialists and their lackeys to provoke a new war, and thus consolidate the Korean armistice and preserve peace in Korea. It is only due to the utmost patience and tenacious struggle of the DPRK Government and the Korean people and to the struggle of the peace-loving people of the world that peace is maintained in Korea today.

The Korean people are well aware that peace can never be maintained by begging from the US imperialists, that it can only be won through an intense and persistent struggle to put down the imperialists' manoeuvres to provoke war. In the future, as in the past, the Korean people will wage a resolute struggle to check the US imperialist manoeuvrings of aggression and safeguard peace in Korea.

We shall persevere in the fight to prevent war and maintain peace; we are not at all afraid of the imperialists falling upon us by force of arms. If, despite our repeated warnings and the unanimous condemnation of the peace-loving people of the world, the US imperialists and their lackeys go the length of unleashing another total war against the DPRK, we, in turn, will declare total war on them and thoroughly annihilate our aggressors. We, the Korean people, will never become colonial slaves of the Wall Street warmongers even if we die in the decisive battle against the enemy We will resolutely defend our beloved fatherland and the socialist gains which we have won at the cost of blood, from the encroaching foreign aggressors.

Question: By what means is US imperialism attempting to suppress the national-liberation movement in south Korea? And what, in your opinion, are the possibilities of the development of the movement?

Answer: The revolution in south Korea is a national-liberation revolution against US imperialism and a democratic revolution against feudal forces. The US imperialists have occupied south Korea by force of arms and completely turned it into their colony and military base. In maintaining their colonial rule over south Korea, the US imperialists rely on the landlords, comprador capitalists and reactionary bureaucrats who have become guides for, and the faithful agents of, the US imperialist aggression. The landlord class cruelly exploits and oppresses the peasant masses under the patronage of the US imperialists. The comprador capitalists make their profits by introducing US surplus goods and capital, plundering and selling the resources of our country to the US monopolies and supplying war materials to the mercenary troops of US imperialism. Accordingly, the basic task of the south Korean revolution is to oppose the occupation of south Korea by US imperialism and drive out the US army of aggression, oppose the exploitation and oppression by the landlords, comprador capitalists and reactionary bureaucrats who are hand in glove with US imperialism and to ensure democratic development for south Korean society.

From liberation to this day, the south Korean workers, peasants, patriotic youth and students, intellectuals, petty bourgeoisie and even the conscientious national capitalists have waged vigorous struggles to carry out this task, thereby shaking the colonial rule of US imperialism to its very foundations and driving the US imperialists and their lackeys into a dead end.

The US imperialists are so disconcerted by this that they resort to plain military fascist dictatorship in an attempt to maintain their colonial rule—a rule on the brink of total bankruptcy in south Korea—and to eliminate all the social and political elements which form an obstacle to their colonial rule and the implementation of their war policies.

US imperialism and its lackeys have greatly expanded the

repressive apparatus while manufacturing all sorts of evil fascist laws and have thus covered the whole of south Korea with a military, police, intelligence and secret service network and turned the whole of south Korea into a living hell of terrorism and oppression. They are running wild to stamp out all the freedoms and democratic rights of the people and brutally suppressing the patriotic, democratic forces. All the progressive political parties, social organizations and press organs have become the target of harsh suppression; and the revolutionaries and patriotic people, who have risen in the just struggle for the right to existence, democratic freedom, national liberation and reunification of the country, are being arrested, detained and butchered right and left. Only recently, the US imperialists and their lackeys arrested, imprisoned and murdered at random a large number of revolutionaries and patriotic personages including Kim Jong Tae, a leading functionary of the Revolutionary Party for Reunification in south Korea, because they had demanded democracy and freedom. With the rampant "intelligence politics which violate human rights and the power politics which ignore public opinion", south Korean society has virtually been reduced to "a space without air, a land without moisture and a society without light", to "a debris where democracy has been eroded". In this way, the military fascist dictatorship established in south Korea faithfully serves the US imperialist policies of colonial enslavement and war. Enforced by the US imperialists in south Korea, the dictatorship far surpasses the fascist dictatorships of Hitler and Tojo in ferocity and barbarity and has become a pattern for the heinous fascist rule of imperialism throughout colonies.

Under fascist suppression and the heavy burden of military expenses resulting from the policies of aggression and war pursued by the US imperialists and their puppet regime, poverty and a lack of rights of the south Korean people have reached the extreme and the dignity of the nation has been severely trampled on and social unrest mounts daily.

The revolutionaries and patriotic people of south Korea are waging the anti-US national-salvation struggle under the very difficult conditions of rampant fascist repression, and, logically, the national-liberation struggle in south Korea has difficult road ahead. But no amount of difficulties, no amount of frenzied enemy endeavour can ever hold back the advance of the revolutionary movement in south Korea.

Where there is exploitation and oppression, there will always be a revolutionary struggle of the people; and where oppressors intensify their tyranny, the people's struggle against this tyranny will always become more organized and tenacious.

The more the US imperialists intensify their fascist suppression in south Korea, the greater the discontent and the stronger the resistance of the south Korean people they will encounter.

In south Korea today, the confrontation between democracy and reaction has become more acute; the imperialist forces of aggression are ever more isolated and weakened, whereas the patriotic forces of revolution continue to grow.

National and class consciousness is gradually increasing and the anti-US sentiments mounting among the popular masses of south Korea. The revolutionary struggle of the south Korean people is ever increasing and developing into diverse forms of intense anti-US national-salvation struggle, including armed struggle. The struggle has become more and more organized with strong roots among the workers and peasants—the main forces of the revolution—and is developing dynamically among the wider masses of the people from all walks of life. The mass struggle of the south Korean people, which is rapidly gaining ground these days against the Pak Jung Hi puppet clique's manoeuvre to secure a long-term office in south Korea, clearly proves that the national-liberation movement of south Korea continues to grow, even under the circumstances of the most severe fascist repression of US imperialism and its stooges. Through the intense revolutionary struggle waged under dif-

ficult conditions, the south Korean people will be all the more aware and tempered; they will develop into an invincible revolutionary force which will eventually be able to repulse any enemy, however outrageous. And, once a revolutionary situation arrives, they will definitively crush US imperialism and its lackeys and achieve the final victory for the revolution.

Question: How can the national reunification of Korea be best realized?

Answer: The stand we have taken with regard to the question of Korean reunification has already been made clear on a number of occasions.

We have maintained and still maintain that the question of Korea's reunification should be solved by the Korean people themselves on democratic principles, by peaceful means, and independently, without any foreign interference.

The question of reunification is an internal affair of the Korean people, in which no outside forces can be allowed to meddle. We can never place the question of our national reunification at the disposal of foreigners. And foreigners can never solve the domestic affairs of our nation. The Korean question should be settled only by Koreans themselves according to their will and by their own efforts. Ours is a wise, civilized nation fully capable of solving any of our national questions alone.

The reunification of north and south, the long-cherished desire of the whole nation, has not yet been accomplished simply because the US imperialists are occupying south Korea, interfering in the internal affairs of our country and pursuing the policy of dividing the nation. If the US imperialists had not unlawfully occupied south Korea and had not obstructed our people's cause for national reunification, we would have long reunified the country and the 40 million Korean people enjoyed a happy life

on the reunified land extending for three thousand *ri*. Their occupation of south Korea and policy of aggression are the source of all the miseries of our nation and the main obstacle to Korea's reunification. If Korea is to be reunified, therefore, the US imperialist aggressors must first get out of south Korea.

We may reunify the country by way of establishing a unified central government through a general election in the north and south to be held on democratic principles, on the conditions that all foreign troops have withdrawn and that there is no interference of outside forces.

In order to hold this general election, it is necessary first to ensure throughout north and south Korea complete freedom of political activity for all political parties, social organizations and individuals together with freedoms of speech, the press, assembly, association and demonstration. Along with this, all the citizens of north and south Korea should be able to enjoy equal suffrage and eligibility for election irrespective of their party affiliations, political views, property status, standard of learning, religious faith or sex. A unified democratic government, representing the interests of all strata of the population, can, therefore, only be established through the elections to be held on the principle of universal, equal and direct suffrage by secret ballot in a completely democratic atmosphere, after eliminating all the factors that obstruct or suppress the expression of the free will of the people.

We consider that this is the most realistic way for the reunification of Korea and is a fair and reasonable proposal, acceptable to all.

We have, ever since liberation, so far made every possible effort to realize the reunification of the country.

If a free general election throughout north and south Korea cannot be held right now, we have proposed to set up a Confederation of north and south Korea as a transitional step to tackle urgent, immediate problems of common concern for the nation

and to gradually work towards complete reunification. The Confederation we have proposed means the formation of a Supreme National Committee composed of an equal number of representatives designated by the DPRK Government and the south Korean authorities, while preserving the present political systems established in north and south Korea as they are. This Supreme National Committee should be a body whose main functions are to coordinate the economic and cultural development of both parts of Korea and promote mutual cooperation and exchange between north and south for the common interests of the nation.

We maintained that if the south Korean rulers could not accept the Confederation, there should be economic and cultural interchanges and individual visits between north and south Korea so as to at least mitigate the sufferings of a divided nation, setting aside political questions for the time being. In case they would not even accept that, we proposed to take humanitarian measures for allowing north and south Koreans to exchange letters at least.

The US imperialists and the south Korean puppet clique, however, have rejected all these just proposals of ours and, time after time, have answered our persevering, sincere efforts with aggressive provocations.

In consequence, from liberation to this day, with a new generation grown up, our people, far from reunifying the country, have led an extremely abnormal life in which parents, wives and children, relatives and friends live apart, some in the north and some in the south, and do not even hear from each other.

Do the US imperialists and their henchmen oppose our just proposals on reunification with any counterproposal, acceptable to us, on the question of Korean reunification? No, far from it.

Now, the US imperialists and the south Korean puppet clique carry out severe, frenzied repression, insolently arresting and imprisoning anybody in south Korea at the mere utterances of peaceful reunification, and are manoeuvring in every way to

perpetuate the division of Korea. Under these circumstances, so long as the US imperialists and the present puppet rulers are allowed to remain in south Korea, it is practically impossible to think of the peaceful reunification of Korea.

Korea's peaceful reunification can be achieved only after the US imperialist army of aggression has been driven out of south Korea and the south Korean people have overthrown the present puppet regime and the progressive forces of south Korea taken power. When the US imperialist aggressors are forced out, the present south Korean rulers ousted and progressive democrats in power, we shall be able to hold peaceful negotiations with them on the question of Korean reunification at any time. Our people's cause of national reunification will be achieved, therefore, by the joint efforts of the socialist forces of the northern half and the patriotic, democratic forces of south Korea.

We can say that the reunification of Korea and the attainment of our people's cause of national liberation depend, in the final analysis, on the preparation of three revolutionary forces—firstly, the socialist forces of north Korea; secondly, the revolutionary forces of south Korea; and thirdly, international revolutionary forces. While striving to strengthen and develop the revolutionary forces in north and south Korea, we are fighting to develop the international revolutionary movement and increase our solidarity with it.

The US imperialists will finally be chased out of south Korea by the revolutionary struggle of the north and south Korean people, with the active support of the revolutionary people throughout the world; and we shall, without fail, achieve Korean reunification.

I should like to avail myself of this opportunity to extend my warm greetings to the Finnish Communists and the working class of Finland for their active support of the righteous struggle of the Korean people to drive out the US imperialist aggressors from south Korea and reunify the country independently.

Question: What is your opinion about the resolution of the youth of the DPRK to step up socialist construction and defend their country's right to self-determination?

Answer: The young play a very great role in the revolution and construction of our country.

They can play such an important role in social revolution and the construction of a new society, for they are from the start sensitive to the new, enterprising, have the strong qualities such as cherishing justice and truth and fighting for them surmounting difficulties without fear. These qualities will show themselves very strongly when combined with firm revolutionary determination to devote everything to the struggle for their society and people under the leadership of a revolutionary party.

We consider that the Korean youth have clearly proved this truth in their practical activities.

Today under the leadership of our Party, the Korean youth form the vanguard, a shock brigade on all fronts of economic construction and the building of national defence in order to accelerate socialist construction and safeguard the gains of the revolution, the independence of the country and the security of the people against the enemy's aggression.

After liberation, the Korean youth, firmly rallied behind the banner of the Democratic Youth League under the leadership of the Workers' Party of Korea, took an active part in the carrying out of all the democratic reforms in north Korea, and, especially in the difficult period of postwar rehabilitation, when the socialist revolution and the building of socialism became the order of the day, their revolutionary enthusiasm, inexhaustible strength and talents came into full play. They participated with a great revolutionary spirit in the work of cooperativizing agriculture and transforming private trade and industry on socialist lines—

a great social and economic change for our country—and drawing in their belts and fighting hard battles, erected factories, reconstructed the railways and rebuilt towns and villages which had been reduced to ashes.

Our youth's firm determination and great revolutionary zeal to rapidly build a new and happier society show to the full in all fields of socialist construction today.

The youth always bear the brunt of the most difficult and strenuous work in the factories and the mines, farming and fishing villages, and on the numerous construction sites across the country; and they never stop devoting all their energy to the movement for innovation in production. They are not only performing a great feat of labour in building an independent socialist industry and a solid socialist agriculture but also contributing greatly to the work of developing science and technology and encouraging national culture and art to blossom out in our country. All the achievements made by the Korean people in socialist construction are based on dedicated labour and great exploits of our young men and women.

And in the struggle to defend the gains of socialism and the sovereignty of their fatherland against foreign aggressors, the Korean youth are showing their unexcelled patriotic devotion and courage.

The Korean youth have behind them the brilliant revolutionary traditions of struggle for the freedom and independence of the fatherland. When the Japanese imperialists occupied Korea, young Korean Communists armed themselves to wage a difficult 15-year-long struggle and gained back their country, usurped from them, by crushing the Japanese imperialist aggressors; and when the US imperialists unleashed a war against our young Republic, the Korean youth again repulsed the enemy and bravely defended the independence and honour of the country, displaying their indomitable revolutionary militancy and collective heroism.

Today they are firmly defending the country. The valiant soldiers of our People's Army administer decisive counterblows at the enemy whenever he violates even one inch of our territory, territorial waters or air. The US imperialists have, only recently, experienced, more than once, the bitter taste of the blows from our brave People's Army soldiers.

In our country defence service is not only for the youth in the People's Army. Our entire youth and all the working people are builders of socialism and, at the same time, the true defenders of the fatherland. They are all building their socialist country with a hammer or a sickle in one hand and a rifle in the other.

Today the whole Korean youth are filled with a strong determination to defend the country firmly against any aggression of US imperialism and its lackeys.

All this is an expression of the boundless loyalty of the Korean youth to the Workers' Party of Korea and of their ardent love for the country and the socialist system.

The Korean youth are well aware that they are reserves on whom the Workers' Party of Korea depends, that they are the true masters of the country and that they represent the future of our society. This is why they are most faithful in serving the revolutionary cause of the working class and why they actively support and profoundly love the socialist system and the socialist fatherland which have given them the chance to work and study to their hearts' content and to display fully all their youthful wisdom and talents; and this is why they regard devoting their all to the struggle for the acceleration of socialist construction, the consolidation and development of the socialist system, and the safeguarding of the revolutionary gains and their fatherland, not as something to be bartered away but as the greatest honour and highest duty.

With the triumph of the socialist revolution and the dynamic advance of socialist construction in our country, a great change is taking place in the spiritual life of the youth. It has become

common among our youth to lead a simple and militant life and study and work steadily and sincerely for society and the collective. Their activities and lives are filled to the brim with a strong revolutionary consciousness as Red revolutionary soldiers of the Workers' Party of Korea, and beautiful communist ways.

In the future, the Korean youth will continue to march forward with great force in the vanguard of the struggle for the building of socialism and communism under the leadership of our Party.

The Korean youth will further strengthen the ties of friendship and solidarity with the progressive youth of the whole world, including the Finnish youth, and will always fight staunchly together with them, on the same side of the barricade in the struggle against the imperialists headed by US imperialism.

Question: What effect do you think the US presidential election, the Paris negotiations on Viet Nam and the establishment of the Provisional Revolutionary Government of the Republic of South Viet Nam will have on the final solution of the Viet Nam question?

Answer: The Viet Nam question is a matter of the greatest concern for peoples throughout the world today.

The US imperialists had a burglarious ambition to turn South Viet Nam into a colony and a military base for Asian aggression and occupy the Democratic Republic of Viet Nam, and the Viet Nam war was sparked off when they began a shameless armed intervention in the just Vietnamese people's cause for freedom, independence, democracy and reunification.

In an endeavour to achieve their aggressive ends in Viet Nam the US imperialists have already been involved in all sorts of treacherous manoeuvres for 15 years, in flagrant violation of the 1954 Geneva Agreements on Viet Nam. The US imperialists have hauled into South Viet Nam a colossal army of aggression,

more than 500,000 strong, and huge numbers of troops of their satellite countries and puppet cliques, and have massacred South Vietnamese people at random by using various weapons of mass destruction, war equipment and even poisonous chemicals. As they met the strong resistance of the heroic Vietnamese people who came out against the foreign aggressors, the US imperialists embarked upon the escalation of their criminal war of aggression in South Viet Nam and went to the extent of unleashing a destructive war against the Democratic Republic of Viet Nam by framing up the "Bac Bo Gulf incident" in 1964.

For the cessation of hostilities in Viet Nam and the final solution of the Viet Nam question, therefore, the US imperialists must stop all their aggressions against Viet Nam once and for all and retire unconditionally from South Viet Nam taking with them their army of aggression plus the troops of their satellite countries and puppet cliques We consider this the basic requisite for the solution of the Viet Nam question.

But we cannot expect that there will be any change in the policy of US imperialism or any turn towards a solution of the Viet Nam question simply because a new President has assumed office in the United States.

All the policies of the United States of America have their origins in the aggressive nature of US imperialism, and they can never change so long as the United States remains an imperialist power and refuses to give up her ambition to world domination. No matter who becomes US President, as a spokesman for the interests of the US monopolies, he can only faithfully execute the colonial and expansionist policies of US imperialism Unless the state and social system of the United States of America undergoes a fundamental change, the policies of US imperialism can never change all of a sudden from being aggressive to being peace-loving simply because the President has been replaced. The same can be said with regard to the Viet Nam question. The aggressive designs of US imperialism on Viet Nam cannot

change simply with a new President, nor can the presidential election in the United States be an occasion for any turn towards a solution of the Viet Nam question.

But all this in no way means that the Viet Nam question is a question with gloomy prospects which can never be solved, so long as the United States remains an imperialist power. The Viet Nam question will definitely be solved sooner or later, when the subjective and objective situations of the revolution are created; and it may even be settled earlier, during the term of office of the present US President. Even then, however, the Viet Nam question could not be solved because the present US President desisted from a policy of aggression and adopted a peace-loving policy but because the US imperialists were finally beaten and driven out of Viet Nam by the heroic anti-US save-the-nation resistance of the Vietnamese people who enjoy the positive support of the world's revolutionary people.

As for the Paris Conference on Viet Nam, the US imperialists were forced into the conference seat in Paris because as the days went by, they suffered heavier and more irretrievable military and political defeats by the heroic resistance of the Vietnamese people and were confronted with the resolute protest and condemnation from the peace-loving people throughout the world opposed to the criminal war of aggression in Viet Nam. But the US imperialists are brazenly manoeuvring to recover at the conference table the defeat they miserably received on the battleground, and behind the screen of "peace" and "negotiation" they cling to crafty trickeries to pursue the "policy of strength" and intensify the aggressive war in Viet Nam and perpetuate their occupation of South Viet Nam. All this shows beyond doubt how heinously the US imperialists are working to accomplish their thief-like designs to stifle the national-liberation revolution of the South Vietnamese people, maintain their neocolonialist rule over South Viet Nam and destroy the Democratic Republic of Viet Nam.

The Paris Conference on Viet Nam, due to the insidious manoeuvrings of the US imperialists, has made little progress, contrary to the expectations of the progressive people of the whole world.

If the US imperialists persist in their present position at the Paris Conference on Viet Nam, nothing can be expected.

The only correct way to push forward the conference successfully and solve the Viet Nam question in conformity with the world opinion and the wishes of the Vietnamese people is the full acceptance by the US imperialists of the reasonable suggestions set forth by the representatives of the Vietnamese people. No one can solve the Viet Nam question for the Vietnamese people. The master of Viet Nam is the Vietnamese people and the Viet Nam question must be solved by the Vietnamese people themselves without interference of any outside forces. We consider that the Viet Nam question can best be settled only on the basis of the proposals made by the representative of the Democratic Republic of Viet Nam and the ten-point proposal made public by the delegation of the South Viet Nam National Front for Liberation at the Paris Conference on Viet Nam, and we give our wholehearted support to the proposals.

As for the setting up of the Provisional Revolutionary Government of the Republic of South Viet Nam, I consider that it is an epoch-making event which has recently focussed the attention of the people of the whole world.

The establishment of the Provisional Revolutionary Government of the Republic of South Viet Nam is a brilliant result achieved by the Vietnamese people's anti-US war of resistance to save the nation and is of great historic significance in the struggle of the South Vietnamese people to accomplish the national-liberation revolution. Through the establishment of their revolutionary government, the South Vietnamese people have come to possess a more powerful weapon in the struggle to develop the liberation struggle against the US imperialist aggressors

to a new stage, build an independent, democratic, peaceful and neutral South Viet Nam and bring about the peaceful reunification of the country.

The Provisional Revolutionary Government of the Republic of South Viet Nam is the genuine, lawful government of the South Vietnamese people, embracing the South Viet Nam National Front for Liberation, the Viet Nam Alliance of National, Democratic and Peace Forces as well as various political parties, social and religious organizations, and all strata of the people in South Viet Nam.

The US imperialists should leave the South Viet Nam question to the Provisional Revolutionary Government of the Republic of South Viet Nam—the genuine, lawful representative of the South Vietnamese people—and withdraw from South Viet Nam without delay. They should also discuss the solution of the South Viet Nam question with the representative of the Provisional Revolutionary Government of the Republic of South Viet Nam at the Paris Conference on Viet Nam.

If the US imperialists reject this and continue to back the Thieu-Ky puppet clique in South Viet Nam as they do at the moment, and persist in their criminal aggressive manoeuvres, the South Vietnamese people will fight more resolutely under the guidance of the Provisional Revolutionary Government of the Republic of South Viet Nam until they wipe out the US imperialist aggressors to the very last man.

We are deeply convinced that the heroic South Vietnamese people, rallied firmly around the Provisional Revolutionary Government of the Republic of South Viet Nam, will defeat the US imperialist aggressors and their running dogs and will surely win the complete victory of the national-liberation revolution and the sacred cause of national reunification.

No force can subdue a people who have taken power in their own hands and have risen in armed struggle for freedom and independence.

Victory will unquestionably be attained by the heroic Vietnamese people who have risen in the glorious battle against US imperialism for national salvation to safeguard the North, liberate the South and reunify the country.

ANSWERS TO THE QUESTIONS RAISED BY ALI BALOUT, CORRESPONDENT OF THE LEBANESE NEWSPAPER AL ANWAR

November 22, 1969

Question: Your Excellency Mr. Premier, you have achieved prodigious successes for the heroic Korean people.

These successes will be immortal and will serve as a beacon for the people who are working out their destinies through their own efforts. They will also serve as a guide for the people who want to build the best society possible.

Your Excellency Mr. Premier, could you tell the Arab people, through the Lebanese newspaper *Al Anwar*, about achievements to be made in the near future under your wise leadership in each of the political, economic, social and cultural domains?

Answer: To begin with, let me express my thanks to you for your deep appreciation of the successes achieved so far by our people.

The Korean people set great store by all the successes they have made in their struggle to build a new society under the leadership of the Workers' Party of Korea. They have a warranted confidence and great pride in them. But no matter how great our victories may be, we are by no means self-complacent about them. The successes we have already scored in the revolutionary struggle and work of construction are no more than the foundations for further advancing the revolution and winning fresh

victories. We are still on the path to revolution. We have more work ahead, more work than we have already done.

Our people should fight not only for the complete victory of socialism in the northern half of the Republic. They must also drive the US imperialists out of south Korea, accomplish the national-liberation revolution and reunify the country. For this purpose, socialist construction in the northern half of the Republic must be pushed forward vigorously, and the revolutionary force in the north, which is the base of the Korean revolution, must also be firmly built up into an invincible force in all fields, political, economic, military and cultural. This is a very weighty and complex revolutionary task. However, our people's revolutionary zeal and fighting spirit is very high and well able to carry it out. Their confidence in victory, too, is firm Our people have firm confidence not only in their ideals for the distant future but also in the shining prospects of the years immediately ahead.

In the future, as in the past, all the victories of our people will be achieved by observing closely the line of independence, self-support and self-defence—the embodiment of Juche idea of the Workers' Party of Korea in all fields of state activity.

We will continue to hold fast to the principle of solving all problems arising in our revolution and construction independently. We will solve them in conformity with the Juche idea of the Workers' Party of Korea. In particular, we will pay special attention to firmly arming the entire working people with our Party's Juche idea, and to further revolutionizing and working-classizing them so as to rally them closely around the Party and the Government. By so doing we will transform the political force of our revolution into an invincible power which no force can ever destroy.

The goal we are to achieve in the coming few years in socialist economic construction is huge and inspiring. Our country's economy will develop at a very fast rate, relying on the solid

basis of the independent national economy laid by our people during their hard struggle of the past years.

We will continue to push ahead energetically with the technical revolution in all branches of the national economy. In the field of industry, we will strive for complete mechanization and semi-automation and full automation in the next few years. We will thus make the labour of the workers easier and more efficient and expand production on a much larger scale.

There will be a great leap forward especially in the development of branches of heavy industry such as engineering, metal, chemical and mining industries. A radical change will also take place in light industry, including textile, food and daily necessities industries.

At present our people are making the final efforts to reach the climax of the Seven-Year National Economic Plan, a magnificent programme of socialist construction. When this plan is fulfilled, our country will be transformed from an industrial-agricultural state into a powerful socialist industrial state and will be able to hold its own among the advanced countries of the world.

Our socialist rural economy will also develop very rapidly. We are planning to complete irrigation and electrification in the next few years and carry out extensive mechanization and chemicalization, and widely introduce advanced methods of farming. We will do this by vigorously pushing forward the rural technical revolution in line with the *Theses on the Socialist Rural Question in Our Country*. With the realization of this plan our farmers will be freed to a greater degree from the conditions of arduous and difficult labour under which they have suffered for thousands of years. They will be able to farm in an easy, enjoyable and efficient way with up-to-date farm machines and diverse chemical fertilizers, weed killers, vegetable growth stimulants and other agricultural chemicals. Not only that, with rapid growth in the output of various agricultural products including grain and an-

imal products, our country will become more affluent in food and will be in a position to supply the working people with sufficient non-staple foodstuffs including meat, eggs and vegetables.

Our science and culture will also advance more rapidly as the nation's political and economic might increases. Scientists and technicians will continue to involve themselves in active research, in order to solve any scientific and technical problems that arise in the building of a more Juche-oriented industry and a more developed socialist agriculture. The state will take measures to enable a far greater number of youths and working people than at present to receive higher education, while, at the same time, consolidating the successes of the already introduced compulsory nine-year technical education. In addition, the entire masses will wage a vigorous struggle to eliminate once and for all the influence of the decayed reactionary imperialist culture and to make our socialist national culture shine more brilliantly.

When these goals have been achieved in all domains of politics, economy and culture, our country's political and economic power will be augmented incomparably and our science and technology, literature and art will be developed onto a new, higher plane, while our people will enjoy a more abundant and cultured life.

It is true that our goals to be achieved are very high and we have many difficulties ahead. We are building socialism under difficult circumstances—our territory is divided into north and south and the manoeuvrings of US imperialism and its stooges to unleash a new war are becoming more pronounced every day. Therefore, the building of the economy and culture in our country cannot but be hindered to a certain degree. It will meet with various difficulties.

But our people, who have matured in the trials of the revolutionary struggle and have the wise leadership of the Workers' Party of Korea, will courageously surmount all these difficulties and will certainly carry out with credit all their revolutionary as-

signments, firmly grasping a rifle in one hand and a hammer or sickle in the other.

Question: The friendly Korean people who enjoy your inspiring leadership have clearly proved that the US gangsters cannot deprive them of their national sovereignty or dampen their desire to drive out the colonialists and reunify their country in the near future.

Your Excellency Mr. Premier, do you think that the US imperialists are planning new aggression against the heroic Korean people?

Answer: The aggressive manoeuvrings of the US imperialists in Korea are already widely known to the world. Out of their brigandish ambition to seize the whole of Korea and use it as a springboard for invading Asia and the socialist countries, the US imperialists have turned south Korea into their complete colony and military base for aggression. They have daily continued their manoeuvrings of aggression and war provocation against the Democratic People's Republic of Korea for more than 20 years, from the first days of their crawling into south Korea till now.

The US imperialists' manoeuvres to launch a new war in Korea have become more intensified particularly in the last few years.

The US imperialists already had enormous aggressive military potentialities in south Korea and, of late, are further stepping up their augmentation. They illegally shipped into south Korea large quantities of tactical nuclear weapons, guided missiles and various other types of weapons of mass destruction in gross violation of the Armistice Agreement. Sometime ago, they again brought large numbers of fighter-bombers to the military bases in south Korea and even newly organized what they call the 71st task fleet with scores of war vessels including a nuclear aircraft carrier and large-size battleships, deploying it in the waters off the DPRK.

US imperialism is greatly increasing the numerical strength of the south Korean puppet army and further strengthening its military technical equipment. In particular, the US imperialists have created the so-called "Homeland Reserve Force" with the aim of increasing the number of local mercenaries in south Korea. They have pressganged a huge number of south Korean youths and middle-aged people into it and are hurrying to arm it fully.

Various military bases and military installations have also multiplied rapidly in south Korea.

Meanwhile, the US imperialists perpetrate more frantic armed provocations against the northern half of the Republic. Owing to this there is not a single day when gunfiring does not take place along the Military Demarcation Line.

As was fully exposed through the incident of the US imperialists' armed spy ship *Pueblo* in January last year and the shooting down of their large-size spy plane *EC-121* in April this year, the US imperialists have perpetrated their espionage activities more and more openly against our country.

Today the US imperialists have established a "wartime structure" throughout south Korea, issued emergency mobilization orders to the US troops occupying south Korea and to the south Korean puppet army and entered a "special alert" while reinforcing the armed forces along the front line.

All these facts show clearly how frantically the US imperialists are again working to unleash a war of aggression in Korea.

Owing to the naked aggressive manoeuvres of the US imperialists, the situation in Korea is so tense and dangerous that war may break out at any moment.

No military threat of the US imperialists, however, can frighten the Korean people. If, in the end, the US imperialists and their stooges unleash a new war against the DPRK, in defiance of our people's patient efforts to prevent war and maint-

signments, firmly grasping a rifle in one hand and a hammer or sickle in the other.

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peace and the unanimous condemnation of the peace-loving people of the world, the Korean people will rise as one in a sacred war to safeguard their beloved country and revolutionary gains. They will completely annihilate the aggressors.

Question: The imperialist and colonialist press and news agencies try to impair the good relations existing between the DPRK and the Soviet Union, and China, claiming that your young country is leaning to one side in the dispute between the two great socialist powers.

What effect do you think the continuance of this dispute can have on the unity of the socialist countries in the struggle against world imperialism?

Answer: As you have correctly pointed out, the imperialists and their reptile press are prattling that our country is on the side of this or that country in the differences between the socialist countries. It is nothing but a foolish trick to create antagonism and drive a wedge between our country and other socialist countries. There is nothing strange about the fact that this mean trick is employed by the imperialists and reactionaries of all types throughout the world. They hope the differences between the socialist countries will widen, and are perpetrating all sorts of crafty machinations to weaken and undermine the unity and cohesion of the socialist countries.

The Marxist-Leninist parties are independent and autonomous by nature. Because the Communists are fighters who out of their faith in Marxism-Leninism, struggle for the emancipation of the working class and working people in their own countries and for the freedom and liberation of the world's people, they hold fast to their independent conviction and fight on for it unyieldingly, through any adversity. If the Communists lose independence and autonomy and follow in others' steps, they cannot uphold principle and consistency in their lines and policies, and this will, in the long run, not only spoil the revolution and

work of construction in their own countries, but also inflict a great setback to the progress of the international communist movement and world revolution.

Our Party, guided by the Juche idea in its activities, is a revolutionary party that adheres solely to the principles of Marxism-Leninism and determines all its lines and policies independently, to suit the actual conditions of our country. Our Party develops its struggle against imperialism and opportunism of all hues not blindly on orders or instructions from anyone else, but always on the basis of its own faith. Firmly maintaining independence in our activities in this way, we endeavour to unite with friends fighting for the common goal on the principles of Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism. We also strive to learn from their experiences if they are worthy of learning, when they conform to Marxist-Leninist principles and when they suit our actual conditions. The fraternal parties, too, fully understand this position of our Party and consider it correct.

No crafty manoeuvre of the imperialists and reactionaries can impair the independent, principled position of our Party and Government or weaken the unity between our country and other socialist countries.

As for the differences between the socialist countries, they are, in all cases, ideological and theoretical differences existing between class brothers who have the same political and economic basis and fight against imperialism and colonialism for the common goal of building socialism and communism. These differences do not express antagonistic contradictions such as those between the imperialist powers or between nations with differing social systems; they are merely temporary differences which arise from different views on such questions as how to appraise the present times, how to fight imperialism and support the liberation struggle of the peoples. They are rooted in the different historical and geographical conditions of each socialist country, dif-

ferent national duties and different understandings of Marxism-Leninism.

In the course of the joint struggle against imperialism, the peoples of the socialist countries will eventually overcome their differences and march forward shoulder to shoulder in their battle for victory in the common cause of building socialism and communism.

Question: Your Excellency Mr. Premier, you are probably well aware that the Arab people are suffering from the continued aggression of Israel, an aggressive country, and its patron, the United States, and that more than two million Arabs have been driven away from their native land.

Could you please give us your opinion of the Middle East crisis?

Answer: The Middle East crisis has resulted from the aggressive manoeuvres of the imperialists headed by US imperialism, who, putting up the Zionists as a "shock force", are trying to suffocate the growing anti-imperialist national-liberation struggle of the Arab people and bring this area under their control. It is entirely because of the brazen aggressive machinations of the Israeli aggressors and their manipulators, the US imperialists, that the crisis has not yet been solved and the situation in the Middle East remains tense.

The anti-US, anti-Israeli struggle waged by the Arab people today is a righteous struggle to safeguard national independence and dignity, to restore the usurped Arab territory and accomplish the Palestinian people's cause of liberation.

The Korean people resolutely condemn the US imperialists and the Zionists for their aggressive manœuvres in the Middle East, fully support the Arab people in their just struggle and express firm solidarity with them.

Question: Your Excellency Mr. Premier, you triumphantly organized and led the guerrilla warfare against the Japanese invaders and fought for 15 long years, thereby bringing a great victory to the Korean people in the end.

Today the Arab people of Palestine have begun their liberation war in the occupied areas following the path you opened up.

Then, what advice could you give the Arab guerrillas from the experience of your glorious struggle?

Answer: The Palestinian people have started the armed guerrilla struggle against the US imperialists and their faithful stooges, the Zionists. This is the correct way of achieving freedom and liberation.

You have asked me to give some advice to the Arab guerrillas, but I would like to tell you briefly about our experience of struggle rather than giving advice

As you know, the fine sons and daughters of the Korean people had waged an arduous anti-Japanese armed struggle for 15 long years under the leadership of the Communists and defeated the Japanese imperialist aggressors, thereby accomplishing the historic task of the country's liberation. The Korean people's anti-Japanese armed struggle was the highest form of national-liberation struggle to resist the counterrevolutionary forces with its own revolutionary forces. During this struggle we underwent many trials and gained valuable experience.

Our experience shows that the oppressed people must resolutely fight against their oppressors in order to achieve the country's liberation and national independence, and that armed combat is the most active and the most decisive form of that struggle.

History has not yet seen any instance of the imperialists making a gift of independence to colonial peoples, nor any case

of a people deprived of their country that received independence from others without waging a struggle themselves. That is why, in order to restore the lost country and achieve genuine national freedom and independence, the oppressed people need to discard all illusions about imperialism. Only by an active struggle against imperialism, can they advance the revolution and accomplish the cause of liberation.

The imperialists leave no stone unturned in maintaining their colonial rule and, with the approach of their doom, they become all the more desperate. The imperialists cruelly and ruthlessly suppress the liberation struggle of the colonial peoples by using all the machinery of power and violence at their disposal. That is exactly what the Japanese imperialists did in Korea before. Therefore, the Korean Communists had to rise in arms and fight for the restoration of the fatherland and we finally won victory after waging a long, arduous armed struggle. Violence must be countered with violence and counterrevolutionary forces must be smashed by revolutionary violence. The experience of the people's liberation struggle shows that a struggle which begins on a small scale develops gradually into a massive struggle and can emerge victorious in the end. We are firmly convinced that the Palestinian people who have embarked on the road to liberation with arms in their hands will certainly triumph if they have firm confidence in victory and stubbornly carry on the armed struggle to the last in all areas, whether the scale of the struggle is big or small.

To ensure steady growth of the revolutionary forces is one of the basic conditions for winning victory in the revolutionary struggle. Throughout our anti-Japanese armed struggle, therefore, we set as the most important task the building up of the revolutionary forces of our own and we persevered energetically to that end.

Our primary concern was directed, first of all, at strengthening the Anti-Japanese Guerrilla Army politically, ideologically

and militarily, in order to consolidate the revolutionary forces. We endeavoured to ensure the organizational and ideological purity and unity of purpose of the anti-Japanese guerrilla ranks and equip all the guerrillas with the firm consciousness of Juche, ardent patriotism and warm revolutionary comradeship and voluntary discipline. Also, we improved the military equipment of the guerrilla army with weapons captured from the enemies in the course of incessant battles with them. We further expanded and developed the guerrilla ranks.

While strengthening the Anti-Japanese Guerrilla Army, we strove to lay the firm mass basis of revolution and unite all the masses who loved the country and nation, to organize and mobilize them to the revolutionary struggle.

In view of the fact that the armed struggle was being waged in the form of guerrilla warfare, it was very important that we strengthened the ties between the anti-Japanese guerrillas and the mass of the people, induced the people to render support and encouragement in every way to the guerrillas and actively organized and mobilized them in the anti-Japanese struggle.

Under the slogan of "As the fish cannot live without water, so the guerrillas cannot live without the people," the Anti-Japanese Guerrilla Army strove for closer kinship with the people anywhere anytime. They also worked to rally all the anti-imperialist forces around the armed struggle and combine this struggle with diverse forms of mass struggle under the correct strategical and tactical leadership. The founding on May 5, 1936 of the Association for the Restoration of the Fatherland, the first organization of the anti-Japanese national united front in our country, was an event of epochal significance in consolidating the mass basis of revolution. With the founding of the association, the anti-Japanese national united front movement developed more organizationally, systematically and rapidly on a nationwide scale in close combination with the anti-Japanese armed struggle. It became possible firmly to organize and mobi-

lize all the anti-imperialist forces in the struggle to liberate the country.

The strengthening of the Anti-Japanese Guerrilla Army, consolidation of the mass basis of revolution, close combination of the anti-Japanese armed struggle with diverse forms of mass struggles—all these constituted an important factor in our victory in the anti-Japanese national-liberation struggle.

Victory will be hastened if the Palestinian people strengthen their armed guerrilla force organizationally, ideologically and militarily, lay the solid mass basis of the struggle, closely rally all the revolutionary and all the mass organizations so as to cement the unity of the revolutionary forces and, further, vigorously wage the anti-US, anti-Israeli struggle on a nationwide and all-Arab scale in firm unity with the entire Arab people.

Availing myself of this opportunity, I sincerely wish the Palestinian people greater victories in their guerrilla struggle for the liberation of their country.

ON SOME PROBLEMS CONCERNING THE INTERNAL AND EXTERNAL POLICIES OF THE WORKERS' PARTY OF KOREA AND THE GOVERNMENT OF THE REPUBLIC

Talk to the Managing Editor of the Japanese Newspaper *Asahi Shimbun* and the Correspondent of the *Kyodo Press*

September 25 and *October 8, 1971*

I am grateful to you for your visit to our country. You are warmly welcomed.

Although I am meeting you for the first time, Chairman Han Dok Su and Vice-Chairman Kim Byong Sik of Chongryon (the General Association of Korean Residents in Japan) are old friends of yours. Chairman Han Dok Su of Chongryon has asked me to receive you as friends. So we are receiving you not as journalists but as our friends, as our distinguished guests. I think you had better consider today's meeting between you and me not as a meeting between journalists and a Premier but as that between friends, intimate friends.

You have given much help to the work of Chongryon and actively supported the repatriation work of Korean citizens in Japan and their struggle to defend their democratic, national rights. You are friendly towards the Democratic People's Republic of Korea, and have done a lot of good things; and you are

striving to develop friendly relations between the Korean and Japanese peoples. Let me express my gratitude to you for this.

I received your questions through our organizations concerned. You have asked me various questions and I know why. There has not been much contact between us, so you are unfamiliar with our country. And I think your questions are based on your desire to have a deeper understanding of many problems. I regard your questions as well-intended.

Now, let me briefly touch on your questions.

First, on our socialist construction and the prospects of the Six-Year Plan.

As you know, we took ten years to fulfil the Seven-Year Plan. Started in 1961, the Seven-Year Plan was supposed to be fulfilled in 1967. However, because of the prevailing situation, its fulfilment was delayed for three years.

In recent years the US imperialists strained the situation to the extreme by creating the Caribbean crisis and expanding their war of aggression in Viet Nam. Since the imperialists were intensifying their aggressions and bellicose provocations, we had to increase our defence capacities by carrying out the line of self-defence so as to defend our gains of socialism and the DPRK through our own efforts. Therefore, our Party put forward a revolutionary line of simultaneously carrying on the building of the economy and defences. According to this line, we allotted much funds to the defence building, and so we needed more time to complete the national economic plan. The result was that we decided to postpone the Seven-Year Plan for three years.

We carried out the Seven-Year Plan in a very difficult situation. The ever-increasing aggressive manoeuvres of the US imperialists and the policy of blockade pursued by them and the Japanese militarists against the DPRK laid many obstacles to our socialist construction. In addition, the complex situation created in the international communist movement also affected our socialist construction to a certain degree.

However, our people got over all the difficulties and successfully carried out the Seven-Year Plan. Although we took ten years to fulfil the plan, our national economy developed very rapidly. In the past ten years during which the Seven-Year Plan was carried out, our industrial output grew by 12 8 per cent on an annual average. I think this is a very rapid rate of growth, compared with other countries. Our people are proud of this.

With the splendid fulfilment of the Seven-Year Plan, the foundation of our independent national economy has been consolidated and a solid economic basis laid, which makes it possible to quickly develop all branches of the national economy.

The greatest success we achieved in the realm of industry during the Seven-Year Plan period is that the might of the Juche-based industry increased and industrial production grew rapidly. By Juche-based industry we mean an industry which lays stress on developing production, basically using our own raw materials. During the Seven-Year Plan period, thanks to our Party's policy of building Juche-based industry, our industry made a giant stride. Especially, the machine-building industry developed rapidly.

A great success has also been achieved in agriculture.

The greatest success in this realm during the period of the Seven-Year Plan is that irrigation was completed We have completed the irrigation of our rice paddies and irrigated many dry fields, as well. In the Six-Year Plan period we are going to complete the irrigation of non-paddy fields also.

We have also completed the electrification of the countryside, so the whole country has now been electrified. There must be very few countries where electrification has been completed not only in towns but also in the countryside.

The mechanization of agriculture has reached a definite level. Of course, it has not yet been completed because we have failed to rezone all the patches and we are short of farm machines.

Since we have not yet completed the mechanization and

chemicalization of agriculture, we have continued to develop agricultural production, firmly adhering to the principle of industry assisting agriculture and the town aiding the countryside. Formerly, our country lacked food. But, as a result of our Party's efforts for the development of agriculture, we have long been self-sufficient in food.

Fruit growing has also made a rapid progress. Before liberation our country had less than 10,000 *chongbo* of orchards. However, following the Pukchong Meeting of the Presidium of our Party Central Committee, we launched an all-people movement to create orchards. As a result, our area of orchards now amounts to 200,000 *chongbo*.

Our stockbreeding has also made a great success. Especially in the last few years, we have been concentrating our efforts on poultry industry, and this is bringing about excellent results.

We have also done a lot of work in the development of culture. We have been enforcing a compulsory nine-year technical education already for some years. In our country, all the households get newspapers and magazines, and radios are available to all the working people.

Our people's living standards have also improved considerably. Our great efforts directed to building defences somewhat hindered the improvement of their living conditions in the past. However, their livelihood has been bettered steadily. During the Seven-Year Plan period, we markedly increased the production of consumer goods by carrying through the Party's line of simultaneously developing centrally controlled and local industries. It is true that the quality of the goods produced by our local industry factories is still not so high. However, as far as daily necessities are concerned, we are meeting the demands almost fully with our own products, instead of relying on imports. In addition, with a view to improving the people's livelihood, in the Seven-Year Plan period our Party took radical steps for completely abolishing agricultural tax in kind.

On the basis of these successes so far achieved in socialist construction, we started to carry out the Six-Year Plan this year.

The Fifth Congress of the Workers' Party of Korea convened last year set forth the programme tasks of the Six-Year Plan and proposed three major tasks for the technical revolution as most important for the building of socialist economy.

The first of these three tasks is that of reducing the difference between heavy and light labour in the realm of industry.

In our mining, forestry and other extractive industries labour is more intense than in other fields. We are going to deliver people from arduous work by extensively introducing mechanization and automation in these branches. Because the general level of mechanization is not so high in our country, it is impossible to complete this task during the period of the Six-Year Plan. But the saying has it, "Well begun is half done," and if we buckle down to this job starting with the extractive industries, I think we will be able to gradually mechanize and automate all the backbreaking and labour-consuming work.

The second task is that of stepping up the rural technical revolution to markedly reduce the distinction between agricultural and industrial labour.

In our country agricultural labour is much more arduous than industrial labour. If we are to deliver peasants from arduous labour, we must promote the agricultural mechanization and chemicalization and modernize farming. We are planning to drastically narrow down the gap between agricultural and industrial labour in the Six-Year Plan period by accelerating the rural technical revolution and see to it that in most areas, ploughing, harvesting and all other farm work are done with machines.

Our Party adheres to the policy of eliminating the distinctions between town and country, and this policy can be successfully implemented only when the rural technical revolution is properly carried out. Only when we mechanize and chemicalize agriculture, is it possible to decisively improve the peasants'

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working conditions and introduce an eight-hour working day in farming villages as in industry. When the farm work becomes easy and the general living standard rises in the countryside, the distinctions between town and country will be greatly narrowed down.

The third task is that of carrying out the technical revolution to emancipate women from the heavy burdens of household chores.

In order to emancipate women completely, it is necessary not only to guarantee women equal right with men in accordance with the Law on Equality of the Sexes, but also provide conditions for them to participate in state and public activities free from care.

In our country today many women go out into the world and take part in labour. Women account for 45.5 per cent of the total industrial work force. Our women are made to take part in labour not merely to solve the manpower problem. We draw them in social life and in the building of the nation, mainly because we aim at revolutionizing and working-classizing them. If women just stay at home, they become backward. Only when they advance into society and take part in labour and lead collective lives, will they be ideologically remoulded to be revolutionaries. That is why our Party has continually encouraged women to launch into society.

We have taken a number of measures to lessen the burdens of the women on the jobs. Our women with many children enjoy benefits from the state; though they work six hours a day they receive the wages for eight hours. In addition, the state has built nurseries and kindergartens all over the country to bring up the children.

This alone cannot solve the whole problem, however. In order to fully solve the women's problem, we must even deliver them from the heavy burdens of household chores.

In order to do this, we are planning to increase state invest-

ments and undertake many projects. We are going to develop the food industry so that women can prepare meals easily; we also intend to lessen their household chores by building many clothing factories and laundries and producing large quantities of various kitchen utensils. Further, we are going to provide the countryside with water service so that women will not carry water jars on their heads any more.

In a word, the three major tasks of the technical revolution proposed by our Party are a sacred revolutionary task aimed at emancipating our working people from difficult, backbreaking labour. In the Six-Year Plan period, we are going to uplift our people's living standard to a higher level by carrying out the three tasks of the technical revolution.

The Six-Year Plan is being carried out satisfactorily in our country.

We found the master key to the technical revolution in the production of machine tools. If we are to carry out this revolution, we need a lot of machine tools If we are to mechanize and automate the operations in mining and other fields which still require much heavy labour, we must make various kinds of machines and equipment. And if we want to mechanize our farming, we must build up tractor repair factories and accessories plants and produce many more farm machines of various kinds A large number of machine tools are also needed if we are to develop the foodstuffs industry. That is why we are putting the main emphasis on producing many machine tools in the first battle to open a breakthrough for the carrying out of the Six-Year Plan.

As you can see from our press reports, our machine-tool plants are making vigorous endeavours to increase their production. Before, the Huichon Machine-tool Plant produced 2,500 machine tools annually, but it is now able to produce 10,000 through its dynamic efforts under the banner of technological innovation. Last August, this plant produced 850 machine tools of different types and in September, it turned out 1,000. As for the Kusong

Machine-tool Plant, it used to produce no more than 1,400 machine tools a year. But, last August it also turned out 850 machine tools, so that its annual productive capacity has passed the 10,000 mark.

At present our working class are seething with a great zeal for labour. Everywhere they are fast increasing production by actively introducing automation into production processes and rationally reorganizing production.

Our people's fighting spirit convinces us that the Six-Year Plan will be carried out with success.

Along with the technical revolution, we are proposing the ideological and cultural revolutions as major tasks.

You asked me what was a key to the rapid progress of socialist construction in our country. We have no particular key. We are promoting socialist construction by increasing the revolutionary zeal and activity of the working people.

If we are to succeed in building socialism and communism, we must occupy two fortresses—material and ideological fortresses. Some people consider that when the material foundation of socialism is basically laid, socialist construction is completed. But we do not. The material basis is not enough to solve everything. Needless to say, in communist society we will be able to put into effect the principle whereby people work according to their ability and receive according to their needs. However, in the period of building socialism and communism, that is, in the period of transition from capitalism to socialism, we cannot even occupy the material fortress successfully, unless we firmly arm people ideologically and occupy the ideological fortress.

We oppose the tendency to be only engrossed in economic construction without giving people ideological education, as well as the tendency to put stress only on ideological work, while neglecting economic work. That is why our Party always follows the principle of pushing forward vigorously with the ideolog-

ical and cultural revolutions along with the technical revolution.

In order for a formerly backward country to make a rapid advance, it is particularly important to give its people proper ideological education. With a view to stepping up socialist construction in our country, we are steadily intensifying the politico-ideological education of the workers, farmers, working intellectuals and all other working people so that they can devote all their energy and wisdom to the construction of socialism.

In carrying out the ideological and cultural revolutions, it is very important to study hard. All our nation has now built up the habit of study under the slogan, "All people, all Party and all army must study!" All officials study more than two hours every day and, every Saturday, they study collectively. I study, and so do the vice-premiers and ministers, and managers and chief engineers of factories all study hard. We have also established a system under which cadres study at regular educational institutes for one month every year. We see to it that Party officials study at Party schools and economic workers at institutes of economics and diplomats at the Institute of Foreign Relations. At these schools the officials raise their practical qualifications and technological level, at the same time waging ideological struggles to remould their unsound ideologies.

We have defined the struggle to prevent the infiltration of bourgeois culture as an important task of the ideological and cultural revolutions. If Western, Yankee culture is introduced, people suffer from it and get depraved ideologically. Therefore, in order to prevent the infiltration of bourgeois, Yankee culture, we are exerting great efforts to develop our socialist literature and arts which are national in form and socialist and revolutional in content. At the same time, we are intensifying the ideological education of the people so that they will remember their past when they were exploited and oppressed, take pride in socialism and have confidence in the future.

An important task of the cultural revolution is to raise our working people's general technological and cultural qualifications. We are endeavouring to get them to acquire at least one technical skill and raise their general knowledge to a higher level. We are going to enforce a compulsory ten-year education in the future. Some schools have introduced it on an experimental basis. We will start this system next year and enforce it at all schools in a few years. In the future, many more newspapers and magazines of various kinds will be published for the working people.

Our Party intends to further improve the people's living conditions in the Six-Year Plan period. Our people are now leading happy lives without any worry about food, clothing and housing. However, we cannot yet consider that our people's living standard is high. So we are going to take a number of measures during the Six-Year Plan period to raise it evenly. If we carry out the Six-Year Plan successfully and work hard for a few more years, our people's living standard will markedly rise and they will enjoy decent lives.

Second, let me touch on the question of Korea's reunification.

Our people unanimously aspire for the independent and peaceful reunification of the country. The trend towards peaceful national reunification is quite conspicuous not only among the people in the northern half of the Republic but also among the south Korean people. This is clear from the fact that the south Korean youths and students rise up almost every day in the struggle against military drills and for peaceful reunification. This was also plainly revealed during the "presidential election" held in south Korea this spring.

In the last "election" south Korea's non-government political parties formed a coalition and rivalled with Pak Jung Hi. The candidate of the New Democratic Party was about to overwhelm Pak Jung Hi only to lose owing to the latter's fraud. In

Seoul where the puppet rulers have massive forces of police and army at their disposal, the opposition candidate beat Pak Jung Hi by winning over 60 per cent of the votes and in Cholla and other provinces, too, he won more votes than Pak. Had the election been held fairly, he might have been elected. Only through terrorism and fraud could Pak Jung Hi again seize the "presidency". The New Democratic Party candidate obtained so many votes at the "election" not because he is popular but because, during the election campaign, he put up the slogan of peaceful reunification, which the people demand.

He had some slogans which were worthy of attention. He declared that if he seized power, he would not pursue a one-sided policy. In other words, he promised to have relations not only with the US and Japan but also with the Soviet Union and the People's Republic of China. He also stated that he would dissolve the "Homeland Reserve Force", desist from intelligence politics and reunify the country by peaceful means. These slogans enabled him to win popularity among the south Korean people.

The south Korean people's support for the candidate of the New Democratic Party during the last "election" can, in the final analysis, be construed as the expression of their desire to reunify the country not by means of war but in a peaceful way as soon as possible.

The DPRK Government has on scores of occasions put forward specific proposals for peaceful reunification, reflecting the unanimous aspiration and will of the entire Korean people to reunify their country peacefully. This spring the Supreme People's Assembly of the DPRK made an eight-point proposal for peaceful reunification, in which were compressed in a nutshell our proposals already made. Particularly, in our speech on August 6, we reclarified our readiness to come into contact at any time with all the south Korean political parties including the Democratic Republican Party, social organizations and individual persons. I think you know this quite well.

Our proposal for peaceful reunification enjoys the unanimous support and approval of the entire Korean people.

In our country peaceful reunification is opposed only by the tiny handful of south Korean reactionary rulers. They not only hate peaceful reunification but also imprison those who advocate it on the charge of violating the "Anti-Communist Law", labelling them as "pro-Communists". Pak Jung Hi is the most die-hard opponent of peaceful reunification.

Last year, as the trend towards peaceful reunification grew rapidly with an irresistible force among the south Korean people, the south Korean rulers uttered the words "peaceful reunification" for the first time. But their "peaceful reunification plan" is not at all designed to reunify the country in a peaceful way. They allege that the reunification question can be discussed only at the end of the 1970's, or ten years later, and advocate that they must "foster strength" until that time. In other words, they say that they will "foster strength" first and then reunify the country peacefully.

In the long run, this amounts to rejecting peaceful reunification. The country can be reunified peacefully only when both sides desire it and make concerted efforts. What is the use of "fostering strength" for peaceful reunification? This clamour of the south Korean puppet rulers is no more than the extension of the slogan of "reunification by prevailing over communism" which they have always advocated.

We studied what kind of "strength" they would "foster". By "fostering strength" they mean to build up their might enough to overwhelm us economically, politically or militarily. This is no more than an illusion which is totally unrealizable.

First, if we view their "fostering of strength" in a favourable light, it may be construed that they are intending to compete with us economically.

But I am sure south Korea will never win the economic competition with the northern half of the Republic. If the economy

is developed in south Korea, we will not be napping, without doing anything, will we? The more time lapses, the faster our economy will grow. Frankly speaking, if the economic competition is conducted in a peaceful way, we can develop several times faster than south Korea. South Korea is now allotting most of the US "aid" for the huge amount of military spendings. However, we take care of everything on our own. Therefore, if we reduce our defence spendings and allot more money for economic construction, we will develop the national economy much more quickly and improve the people's living standard much more than now. So, in fact, the economic competition between us and south Korea is out of the question.

Now, how will they "foster" their political "strength"? It is obvious that the south Korean puppet rulers will not be able to do as they wish.

As I have already mentioned, the south Korean people are more strongly demanding peaceful reunification as the days go by. How strong is the trend towards peaceful reunification in south Korea today can be clearly seen in the fact that Pak Jung Hi himself, who had randomly arrested and imprisoned those who simply uttered the words peaceful reunification, had to talk about "peaceful reunification" during the last "election" in order to curry favour with the people.

The south Korean people's discontent with the present puppet rulers and the south Korean social system is also increasing daily. As long as the present colonial ruling system remains intact in south Korea, the people cannot enjoy genuine freedom and rights nor can they be well-off. In south Korea, today, there is a great gulf between rich and poor. Even if the south Korean economy develops to some extent in the future, this gap will not disappear. If the economy develops, the handful of the rich will get still richer but the great majority of the people will not be able to rid themselves of their present penury.

Expressways are now being built in south Korea, but this

is designed for the preparation of war and not at all for the improvement of the people's livelihood. As for a developed capitalist country, it is another matter, but for south Korea it is not a pressing task to build expressways. What is the use of it when there are not many cars and they use oxcarts for the most part. If south Korea does not build express roads and effects irrigation in the countryside with the money, by building dykes and reservoirs, this will be great help to the south Korean people's livelihood. But the south Korean puppet rulers little dream of it.

Sometime ago I read an article in a Japanese newspaper which scorned at south Korean reality. It said that in south Korea there are hovels and a lot of slums on either side of the fine express roads. I think this is the actual situation in south Korea. So it is natural that the south Korean people's discontent should grow with each passing day.

It is clear that south Korea is not in a position to compete with us either economically or politically. After all, by "fostering strength" the south Korean puppet rulers mean to gain time and repress the progressive forces calling for peaceful reunification and achieve "reunification by prevailing over communism" after furthering war preparations.

The south Korean authorities are grossly mistaken. If they "foster" their military "strength" and continue with their war preparations to invade us, we will not be just sitting with folded arms, will we? So, if they "foster strength" and go on with their war preparations, when will peaceful reunification be achieved?

Furthermore, their ambitious "reunification by prevailing over communism" is a very silly illusion. This "reunification by prevailing over communism" means to achieve national reunification by destroying communism in our country and overthrowing the socialist system in the northern half of the Republic. This cannot but be considered an anachronistic way of thinking.

They can never eradicate communism. The communist movement has a history of more than 100 years if we count it from the

Though the south Korean side agreed to the preliminary talks between the Red Cross organizations, they do not participate in the discussions in good faith and are resorting to a delaying tactics. Probably you know this well because you saw it at Panmunjom yourselves. Now under discussion at the preliminary talks are the place, date and agenda of the full-dress talks. They are such simple problems that can be agreed upon easily. However, the south Korean side is obstructing the talks, deliberately delaying the discussions. Concerning our September 20 proposal they said they would give their reply only on September 27.

These days at the Panmunjom preliminary talks a debate is going on about the place of the full-dress talks. Already ten years ago, we proposed to hold a north-south conference between the political parties and social organizations in Pyongyang and Seoul. We have made this proposal on a number of occasions both in our speeches and official documents. This time our Red Cross organization has proposed that the negotiations be first held at Panmunjom and, then, in Pyongyang and Seoul as soon as the preparations are made. By preparations we mean, above all, to provide communication facilities. No facilities have been provided for communication between Pyongyang and Seoul. That is why our side proposed to create these necessary conditions before holding the talks in Pyongyang and Seoul. However, the south Korean side insisted on proceeding the talks in Seoul and Pyongyang from the very start. Their proposal was unreasonable, but we agreed, out of our desire to make the talks a success at all costs. Judging from the attitude now being taken by the south Korean side at the Panmunjom talks, they seem to have an ill intention to wreck the talks under various pretexts and shift the responsibility onto our side.

We do not intend to foil the talks. We want to actively expedite them in all sincerity and bring them to success by all means, even if we have to make concessions on minor prob-

lems. By doing this, we are going not only to search for the families, relatives and friends scattered to the north and south but also effect correspondence and free visits between the two parts.

When the question of talks between the Red Cross organizations of north and south Korea was raised for the first time, we already proposed not to confine the talks to the question of searching for families and relatives but to include in the discussion the question of correspondence and free visits between the north and south. Not only the people in the northern half of the Republic but also the south Korean people were greatly excited and warmly supported this proposal. The south Korean rulers got greatly confused at this and repeated the outworn allegation: "We must not be too much excited," "It is premature" and so on.

The positions of our side and the south Korean side at the talks of the north and south Korean Red Cross organizations are clear now. Ours is to facilitate the talks and the south Korean side's is to delay them. This is precisely the difference. Therefore, in order to promote the talks between the two Red Cross organizations and make them a success, I think it is necessary to arouse public opinion still more and the south Korean people must fight more actively to bring pressure to bear upon the south Korean authorities.

Of late some people in south Korea are suggesting the possibility of beginning mutual visits of journalists of the north and south. We also welcome this view. We are not against south Korean journalists coming to see the northern half. We also hope that our correspondents will be able to go and see south Korea. But the south Korean authorities keep the door shut, in fear of the contact and visit between the north and south

We will not only continue to actively promote the talks between the Red Cross organizations of north and south Korea but also endeavour for a gradual contact between the political parties and social organizations of north and south Korea.

Our Party and the Government of the Republic have consistently held that under any circumstances, the Korean question should be solved by the Koreans themselves. In other words, we want to reunify the country independently without the interference of any outside forces. We think this is quite possible.

The DPRK is completely independent in all aspects. We allow nobody to meddle in our internal affairs and nobody is doing so. The problem is that the United States and Japan are interfering in the internal affairs of south Korea and hindering our national reunification.

The US imperialist occupation of south Korea is the greatest obstacle to the independent and peaceful solution of Korea's reunification question. Therefore, in order to expedite the reunification, the US imperialists must first desist from their aggressive policy towards our country and withdraw their aggressive troops they brought into south Korea under the signboard of "UN forces". At the same time, they must not encourage the Japanese militarist forces of aggression to reinvade south Korea. The south Korean rulers, on their part, should strive to drive the US imperialists and other foreign forces of aggression from south Korea and put an end to their interference in the internal affairs.

On the contrary, the south Korean rulers are pleading the US imperialists not to leave south Korea and are taking pains to usher the Japanese militarists again into south Korea. Now, in an endeavour to deceive the south Korean people and world opinion, they lose no opportunity of alleging that we are going to "invade the south". In the last analysis, this is mainly aimed at justifying the occupation of south Korea by the US imperialist troops of aggression and the reinvasion of south Korea by the Japanese militarists.

We have never intended to "invade the south" nor have we ever said we would. The Government of the Republic has consistently advocated and is still advocating peaceful reunification. We are not going to impose the socialist system of the northern

half of the Republic upon south Korea. We have more than once proposed the establishment of a sort of confederation as a tentative step to achieve national reunification, while keeping the present systems in north and south Korea as they are. In the future our Party and the Government of the Republic will continue to advocate peaceful reunification and strive for it.

Since the US imperialists are occupying south Korea and the Japanese militarists scheming to reinvade south Korea, we cannot expect the question of Korea's reunification to be solved easily. It is true. However, the peaceful reunification of our country will be greatly hastened if the entire people in north and south Korea, the Japanese and other Asian peoples and the people throughout the world unite and put up a strong fight with the US imperialists and the Japanese reactionaries exerting pressure on them, so that US imperialism will have to withdraw its aggressive troops from south Korea and Japanese militarism desist from supporting the south Korean puppets. We consider that the question of Korea's reunification has prospects of peaceful solution on the principle of national self-determination, according to our people's will, though it may take some time.

Third, you asked me what role the United Nations can play in the settlement of the Korean question. We must wait and see

The UN has persisted in making unfair demands on us. The UN has adopted illegal "resolutions" on the Korean question and insolently demanded that we respect them. Only then, they say, will they allow our representative to participate in the UN General Assembly and make a statement. We can never accept the illegal UN "resolutions" on the Korean question and their unjust demand.

We respect the UN Charter and have never violated it. We oppose the UN "resolutions" because they are unwarrantable and contrary to the spirit of the Charter. It is not we but the US imperialists who are violating the UN Charter. The US imperialists are trying to justify their occupation of south Korea under

the plea of the UN "resolutions". The so-called "UN forces" in south Korea are the US imperialist armed forces of aggression which have usurped the UN flag.

The UN must first abrogate the unwarranted "resolutions" on the Korean question adopted under US coercion, dissolve the "United Nations Commission for the Unification and Rehabilitation of Korea" and withdraw the "UN forces" from south Korea.

The UN must repeal the unlawful "resolutions" adopted so far on the Korean question and treat the DPRK fairly. The UN must not make unreasonable demands on us and must not interfere in the Korean question so that it can be solved by the Koreans themselves.

Fourth, I would like to refer to the question of defending the national rights of the Korean citizens in Japan and their repatriation.

It is essential for the Korean citizens in Japan to defend their national rights. It is natural that any nation should defend their own rights, and this does not run counter to international law. As we understand, many Japanese also live abroad and I am sure that they also want to defend their national rights rather than renounce them. So it is natural that the Korean citizens in Japan should defend their national rights.

The Korean citizens in Japan must first be guaranteed full right to national education.

All our citizens residing abroad have their own schools. Where there are a small number of Korean citizens, the schools are run by our embassies themselves. In China, there are a relatively large number of Korean citizens, and we have our schools in Peking, Shanghai and many other places. The Chinese Government is doing all it can to protect the education of Korean citizens. At present, all the Korean residents in China have their own schools, learn our spoken and written language and study our Party's policies and our history.

In Japan, too, the Korean citizens under Chongryon learn our mother tongue at their schools and study our Party's policies and our history. This is the legitimate national right of the Korean citizens in Japan.

In my opinion, their national education was materialized because they fought well, and also received strong support and encouragement from the Japanese people and progressive people in all strata.

Some individual persons who have reactionary inclinations among the Japanese ruling circles try to frustrate the national education of the Korean citizens in Japan, but they cannot because of the pressure from the overwhelming majority of the Japanese people and progressive personages. In the Japanese government itself there is a reactionary section opposed to the national education of the Korean citizens in Japan, but there are also many who support it. Probably this is why the Japanese government allows our nationals to receive our financial aid for their education.

It is very important to give national education to overseas citizens. As you know, a nation is first formed by the community of the spoken and written language. If the Korean nationals in Japan did not know how to speak or write Korean, they could not, in fact, be called Korean nationals. Therefore, we attach a very great importance to the national education of Korean citizens in Japan and we will continue to give active support and aid to this work.

Japan has a large population, so, in our view, it need not try to make the Koreans Japanese. We hope that in the future, too, the Japanese people and progressive personalities of all sections will firmly support and defend the national education of the Korean citizens in Japan.

At present the Japanese government is preventing the Korean citizens in Japan from obtaining the nationality of the DPRK. I think this is the expression of its unfriendly attitude to-

wards our country. The reactionary circles within the Japanese government, hand in glove with the south Korean puppet clique, are forcing the Koreans in Japan to have the "Republic of Korea nationality". When they accept the "ROK nationality", they are given special "favours", but, those who have the DPRK nationality, receive unjustifiable sanctions under various pretexts. It seems to me that some are so harassed that they cannot but accept the "ROK nationality". Formally, the Japanese authorities clamour for the "freedom" of choice of nationality but actually, they do not allow the free choice of nationality but unwarrantedly impose the "ROK nationality". Even if they impose it on some of the Koreans residing in Japan, it will not give us any great problem. Though they change their nationality against their will under pressure of the Japanese reactionaries, they will unreservedly support the DPRK just as all the south Korean people do now.

In the last analysis, this regrettable change of their nationality into the "ROK nationality" is taking place because our country is divided into the north and south. I am sure, however, that this problem will also be solved correctly in due course.

As far as the repatriation of Korean citizens in Japan is concerned, it has been effected as a result of the efforts made by both sides. In other words, it has been materialized because both our side and the Japan Red Cross Society have exerted great efforts. We do not consider that this has been put into effect only through the endeavours of our Red Cross Society.

The repatriation of Korean citizens in Japan has been resumed and repatriation boats are plying between our two countries. This is very good. This is a step forward in the development of friendly relations between the Korean and Japanese peoples. We hope this work will continue with the support of the Japanese people so that all the Korean citizens desirous of repatriation may return to their motherland.

We also consider it necessary to enable the Korean citizens

in Japan to visit their homeland freely. We hope that the repatriation boats plying between Niigata and Chongjin will carry not only the returnees but also those who will visit their relatives in the homeland and go back to Japan.

You think we have set up the General Bureau for Overseas Compatriots Affairs only recently, but it was established already in 1959 when the repatriation of Korean citizens in Japan was started. So far this bureau has been unable to function because their repatriation was interrupted. But now it is operating with the resumption of the repatriation The General Bureau for Overseas Compatriots Affairs does such work as helping the returnees to get jobs according to their desire and qualities and guaranteeing their residence wherever they want.

We are guaranteeing all conditions for the repatriates to give full play to their talent and wisdom and live without any inconveniences. The compatriots who have returned from Japan are now all enjoying free education and free medical care and taking an active part in socialist construction. At present, according to their desire and ability, they are working in government bodies, economic and cultural institutions and other realms, dedicating all their wisdom and talent. There are returnees from Japan among the sportsmen who recently visited Japan. So those who are fond of sports are engaged in sports, those who like arts work in the realm of arts and those who have technological knowledge work in the field of technology.

Fifth, I will touch briefly on the relations between Korea and Japan.

Since the first days of its foundation, the DPRK has pursued the policy of having friendly relations with all nations that take friendly attitudes towards us on the principles of equality and mutual benefit.

As for the Korea-Japan relationship, Japan committed aggression against Korea and Korea suffered its aggression This is the historical relationship between Korea and Japan.

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As for the Korea-Japan relationship, Japan committed aggression against Korea and Korea suffered its aggression. This is the historical relationship between Korea and Japan.

But it is not the Japanese people but the Japanese imperialists who invaded Korea. Japan is also our neighbour. That is why after our country was liberated from the yoke of Japanese imperialism and the DPRK was founded, we desired to have a good-neighbour relationship with Japan despite the different social systems.

However, the Japanese government has all along been unfriendly towards the DPRK. Let me cite a few examples.

In 1950 when the US imperialists launched the war of aggression in our country, the then Japanese Prime Minister Yoshida stated, "Japan will collaborate with the UN by shipping the troops and arms to the Korean war." And in 1953 during the "ROK-Japan talks" the Japanese delegate made an absurd allegation that "The Japanese rule over Korea had benefited the Korean people."

In the days of the Kishi Cabinet, too, the Japanese reactionaries made many hostile utterances against our country.

According to the June 1958 issue of a Japanese magazine, the Japanese senior delegate to the "ROK-Japan talks" said: "The Sino-Japanese and Russo-Japanese Wars were waged in order to repulse the forces menacing Japan beyond the Yalu as they had advanced to the Korean peninsula.... If we do not rise up for a third time and push the 38th parallel beyond the Yalu, we will not be able to save our honour before our ancestors, before our forerunners. This is Japan's diplomatic obligation. It is imperative to solve the questions pending between Japan and the Republic of Korea, so is it to strive to push the 38th parallel up to the north." He added, "The 38th parallel is the life line of the ROK; it is also Japan's life line."

In 1960 Ono Banboku, former vice-president of the Japanese Liberal-Democratic Party, said, "We must form a 'United States of Japan' with Japan, south Korea and Taiwan put together." All this was reported by the Japanese press.

The same was true of the days of the Ikeda Cabinet.

During the Ikeda Cabinet ex-Prime Minister Kishi Nobusuke said at a plenary session of the House of Representatives, "Japan's zone of self-defence must be extended to south Korea and Taiwan."

On February 2, 1961, Kosaka Zentaro, the then foreign minister, said that the Japanese government "recognizes the south Korean government as the sole government of the whole Korea because 38 UN member states only recognized the south Korean government". He added, "It is a pity that the sovereignty of the Republic of Korea is not being exercised over the northern half."

In September 1962, the minister of justice of the Ikeda Cabinet said: "We must prevent Korea's reunification at all costs because the Republic of Korea is the first line in opposing communism"

The situation is more appalling under the Sato Cabinet I must say a few words about Sato, too, though our criticism of your Prime Minister might embarrass you more or less.

As they were defeated in Asia, the US imperialists put forward what they call the "Nixon doctrine" to "make Asians fight Asians" and Sato was the first to accept it. And it is none other than Sato who, in disregard of the strong opposition of the Japanese people and public circles, signed the aggressive "Japan-US joint statement". What is more, Sato visited Seoul to "congratulate" Pak Jung Hi on his reassumption of the "presidency" through the fraudulent "election", though he knew that all the south Korean people opposed Pak I think this is one of the evidences to Sato's extremely unfriendly attitude towards us.

As you see, the Japanese government has all along taken unfriendly warlike attitudes towards our country

Our country has never invaded Japan or interfered in its internal affairs, nor have we pursued an antagonistic policy towards Japan. We have always striven to have friendly and good-neighbour relations with Japan But our unilateral efforts alone will not establish good-neighbour relations. Entirely because of

the hostile policy of the Japanese government towards our country, good-neighbour relations between Korea and Japan have not been established to this date.

Take the trade relations as an example. We want to develop trade relations with Japan and are striving to this end. Geographically, Japan is close to us. So, once economic exchange is effected, we will pay less shipping expenses and will have many other advantages. However, we are forced to buy necessary goods from far-off European countries such as France, England, Austria and Holand because Japan is pursuing a policy of blockade towards our country. These countries have no diplomatic relations with our country. But they do not bar economic exchange with us. Only Japan, together with US imperialism, persists in blockading us.

Our country is carrying out some trade transactions with Japanese companies, but this trade has a unilateral character because of the hostile policy followed by the Japanese government. Japanese technicians can come here to inspect our plants, but our technicians are not allowed to enter Japan. So they cannot visit Japanese factories and, accordingly, we cannot order necessary goods. The Japanese government not only prohibits the entry of our technicians into Japan but, under the pretext of controlling strategic materials, deliberately restricts trade between us and Japanese companies.

Whether the Japanese government is doing this in fear of the United States or the south Korean puppets we are not sure. The Japanese government seems to fear lest communist propaganda should be conducted, if our people are allowed the entry, but I think there is no need to worry about this. In Japan there is a Communist Party and a great many people who propagandize communism. And how much communist propaganda can our technicians carry out in Japan?

If the Japanese reactionary circles intend to frustrate our socialist construction through economic blockade against our

country, they are too stupid. Even without Japan, we conduct trade with many foreign countries and buy as much machinery and equipment as we need. Even if Japan rejects trade with us, our socialist construction will never be disorganized. However, we hope to develop trade relations with our neighbouring Japan as far as possible.

It is reported that Japan has recently expressed its willingness to receive our technicians. If it is true, we welcome this step.

In order to have friendly relations between Korea and Japan and, further, establish diplomatic relations between them, the Japanese government should first correct its attitude towards our country It should desist from its hostile policy towards the DPRK and stop instigating the south Korean puppet regime to make Koreans fight each other again.

Whether or not the Sato Cabinet will be replaced is Japan's internal affair, so we are not going to meddle in it. The question is not who will become Japan's Prime Minister but whether the hostile policy towards our country is given up or continued Unless the Japanese government's policy towards our country is changed, the relations between Korea and Japan will not improve even if the Japanese Prime Minister is replaced. We think it is necessary for the Japanese government to correct its wrong policy in keeping with the trend of the times

These days the progressive forces in Japan are carrying on a movement to restore diplomatic relationship with China and establish it with the DPRK. We think this is good

If the Korean and Japanese peoples establish diplomatic relations or, before this, effect friendly visits through their concerted efforts, we will welcome it. Even before diplomatic relations are established with Japan, we are willing to materialize mutual visits of journalists, technicians and other people as often as possible and carry out extensive economic and cultural exchanges. However, in our opinion, this must not be unilateral but must be conducted on the principle of reciprocity.

I have heard that you would invite our art troupe. We welcome this. It is good to open the road between the two countries and visit each other.

No matter what specific procedures will be taken, we think it is solely up to the Japanese government's attitude whether or not friendly relations will be established between Korea and Japan.

Sixth, I would like to touch on the question of the revival of Japanese militarism.

At present some people are debating about whether or not Japanese militarism has been revived. We consider that it has already been revived. This is not a speculation; it is a conclusion we have reached on the basis of factual materials.

As you know, the Japanese militarists drew up long ago specific invasion plans such as "Operation Three Arrows", "Operation Flying Dragon" and "Operation Bull Run" and, under these operational plans, they have been continually conducting joint military exercises in the East Sea with the US imperialist troops of aggression and the south Korean puppet troops. This year they have already conducted many such military exercises. They say that these exercises are carried out for "defensive" purposes. But it is needless to say that, in fact, they are aggressive military exercises conducted with Korea, China and the Soviet Union as their imaginary operational zones.

The DPRK is target No. 1 in Japanese militarists' overseas aggression. With a view to throwing their armed forces of aggression into the Korean front, they are conducting large-scale amphibious manoeuvres with the south Korean puppet troops and supporting the south Korean puppets in building an expressway up to the Military Demarcation Line. This expressway is directly linked with the ferry between Shimonoseki and Pusan. All this is aimed at invading our country.

The Japanese reactionary ruling circles are openly claiming that if war breaks out in Korea, they cannot sit with folded

arms. On December 1, 1969 at the Japanese Diet Sato said: "Guaranteeing the security of Japan's neighbours such as the Republic of Korea and Taiwan is a matter of great concern in *the light of the security of Japan itself.*" And he added, "*It* is quite natural that Japan should strongly counteract in case her neighbours' security is encroached upon." And in February last year he stated: "In case war breaks out in Korea, we cannot just remain an onlooker." He even claimed that "It is part of Japan's right of self-defence to make a forestalling attack"

Even these few materials clearly convince us that Japanese militarism has been revived and entered the stage of full-scale preparation for overseas aggression.

The time has already gone to debate on whether or not Japanese militarism has been revived. Judging from what they are doing now, we must consider that militarism has been revived in Japan. It cannot be considered otherwise. Its revival is a stark fact. So the urgent task for us now is how to curb its aggressive designs and safeguard the peace of Asia and the world.

It is true that Japanese militarism has revived. But whether it can dare to launch war or not depends entirely on how the Japanese and Asian peoples will fight

The Japanese people's struggle is very important in opposing the aggressive manoeuvres of the Japanese militarists. We think that the Japanese people are powerful enough to prevent the Japanese reactionary government from unleashing a war of aggression. Today's Japanese people are not the Japanese people of the 1910's or the 1920's; they are the Japanese people in the 1970's. The Japanese people are now tenaciously battling against the Japanese militarist forces of aggression

It seems that there is a conflict of views among the Japanese ruling circles themselves on whether or not to launch an aggressive war. Being an island country, Japan depends heavily on foreign raw materials for its industry. So, if war breaks out, it will be very difficult to obtain raw materials in the island. For

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this reason, I think, some of the Japanese monopoly capitalists fear war.

Thus, in Japan the aggressive forces are insignificant and the anti-war forces compose an immense majority. If the broad anti-war forces closely unite and launch a more vigorous anti-war movement, the reactionary government of Japan will not dare to start a war no matter how much it wants.

As for the Japanese militarists' objects of aggression, they are not to be slighted. The days are gone when Japan lorded it over in Asia. Today's Korea is not the Korea at the time of its "annexation to Japan" and today's China is not the China in the days of the Sino-Japanese War and today's Soviet Union is not the Russia at the time of the Russo-Japanese War. The might of Korea, China and the Soviet Union has now been incomparably strengthened.

We think that if the peoples of Korea, China, Japan and Indochina and many other Asian peoples firmly unite and actively struggle, they can frustrate the Japanese militarists' manoeuvres towards aggression. However, if they harbour illusions about Japanese militarism and give up fighting, considering that it has not yet been revived or that it is not worthy to fight it, it will only help the Japanese militarists.

If the Japanese militarists start another aggressive war in disregard of the changed reality, they will suffer still heavier defeat before the united might of the revolutionary Asian peoples and the peace-loving people throughout the world.

As in the past, so in the future, our people will fight staunchly against the Japanese militarists' manoeuvres for aggression.

Seventh, let me say a few words with regard to Nixon's visit to China.

You asked if there will be any change in our foreign policy in connection with Nixon's China visit. We still do not think it

necessary to make any radical change in our foreign policy. Of course, the foreign policy of a country is not immutable. It may alter in accordance with changes in the international situation. However, our foreign policy is independent, we have a diplomatic policy of our own. So whether Nixon comes to China or whatever attitude China takes, it will not cause great sensation among us.

As for Nixon's visit to China, it is not the march of the victor but a trip of the vanquished.

China and the United States have no diplomatic relations. History knows little instance of the head of a state personally visiting a country with which his country has no diplomatic relations. This proves that US imperialism is in a dead end. Otherwise, it would not go to such an extent.

The reactionary rulers of the United States have been very obstinate in pursuing a blockade policy towards the socialist countries. For many years they have followed this policy towards the socialist countries Following the victory of the October Socialist Revolution, the US imperialists did not recognize the Soviet Union and continually blockaded it. They recognized it only 16 years later. As for China, they have blockaded it for 22 years. However the US imperialists blockaded China, it has not collapsed but has continuously grown in strength as a revolutionary force in Asia. Nixon's visit to China which he has so far antagonized shows that the US imperialists are gasping on the road to ruin.

The US imperialists are now facing a grave internal and external crisis. In the United States the economic crisis is getting more serious, the people's anti-war movement greatly upsurging and US soldiers growing more and more war-weary. Almost all the US soldiers in South Viet Nam are reported to be addicted by narcotic. This shows that US soldiers are extremely war-weary. In addition, the US imperialists have many difficulties in pursuing their military strategy. They have spread their

armed forces of aggression over so many parts of the world that they are not effective and this involves great financial burdens.

US imperialism has not many allies among capitalist countries. The number of US followers is gradually diminishing. During the Korean war, US imperialism mobilized 15 satellite nations, but for the Viet Nam war today it has managed to mobilize only such puppets as south Korea, the Philippines, New Zealand, Australia and Thailand. US imperialism is now suffering defeat after defeat in the Viet Nam war. In this way, US imperialism is now going downhill, not as in former days.

With a view to extricating itself from the blind alley, US imperialism has put forward the "Nixon doctrine" and begun to pursue the policy of making Asians fight Asians and pitting the peoples of the Middle East and the African peoples against each other. Though Nixon has put up the "Nixon doctrine" to find a way out of the crisis, it has failed to win popularity. Only such a stupid man as Sato accepts the "Nixon doctrine" but other people do not do.

In these circumstances the US rulers seem to think it difficult to overcome the crisis by means of war alone. Indeed, the US imperialist policy of aggression still remains unchanged. However, US imperialism is seeking a way out by some other means for the time being. Nixon is visiting China at a time when US imperialism is in a dead end. In my opinion, he aims to improve relationship with China and relax the tension temporarily so as to have breathing time and intensify the preparations for an aggressive war.

From the historical point of view, the dialogue between China and the United States is not the first of its kind between socialist and imperialist powers. There were similar cases in the past. Moreover, many countries have started to recognize the People's Republic of China as the sole legitimate government of the Chinese people. We do not regard the Sino-US dialogue as strange but as quite feasible.

It is impossible that because of its talks with the US, China will change its socialist principle, its opposition to imperialism. Because China is a socialist country and there are incompatible contradictions between the socialist and capitalist systems, there *can be no compromise on the issues of principle.*

If, through Nixon's visit to China, a dialogue is conducted between the two sides, international tension relaxes to some extent and conditions are created for solving the Asian problems which remain unsettled, it will certainly be a good thing and not a bad thing.

If the tension is lessened in Asia and US imperialism withdraws from there, will the "Nixon doctrine" be put into practice? We do not think it will. We do not consider that Japanese militarism will be able to play the role as aggressor in Asia for US imperialism. The Japanese people are now rising up against the joint Sato-Nixon statement. If the Japanese people and all the other Asian peoples fight in unity, the "Nixon doctrine" will inevitably go bankrupt.

Even if international tension is somewhat alleviated as a result of Nixon's China visit, this does not mean the complete removal of the danger of war Historical experience shows that even if a nonaggression pact is concluded between socialist and imperialist countries or the relations between a socialist country and an imperialist country improve temporarily, this cannot be the decisive guarantee for the prevention of war. A nonaggression pact was concluded between Hitlerite Germany and the Soviet Union before. But a war broke out one year later And the 1930's saw the conclusion of a neutrality pact between the Soviet Union and Japan. In signing this pact, the Japanese imperialists aimed at carrying on the Sino-Japanese War easily. Of course, the present situation is different from that at the time when Hitlerite Germany and the Soviet Union concluded the nonaggression pact. At that time Hitler was expanding but US imperialism is on the decline now.

However, the nature of imperialism has not changed. War is the companion of imperialism. True, US imperialism has weakened, but no one can assert that it will not start another aggressive war by gaining time.

As for the future relationship between our country and the United States as a result of Nixon's visit to China, it will be entirely up to US imperialism's policy towards Korea.

As I have said, the DPRK has consistently maintained the principle of promoting friendly relations with all countries which respect the Korean people's freedom and independence, want to establish diplomatic relations with our country on an equal footing and are friendly towards us. This was declared already at the time when we proclaimed the founding of the DPRK and was also made clear in the Ten-Point Political Programme of the Government of the Republic we announced several years ago.

Irrespective of the future Sino-US relations and the US imperialist policy to be pursued towards other Asian countries, we will follow our independent policy towards the United States in the light of its policy towards our country. That is why we are closely watching what attitude US imperialism is going to take towards us.

What is important here is to withdraw its armed forces of aggression from south Korea. It is clear that as long as the US imperialists are occupying south Korea, we cannot have friendly relations with the United States no matter what will be the relations between China and the United States. However, if they discard the UN signboard and withdraw their troops from south Korea and stop providing south Korea with military equipment for aggression, it will be another matter.

The Korean Armistice Agreement was concluded between the Korean-Chinese side and the "UN Command" side. When the Korean Armistice Agreement was concluded, the two sides agreed to convene a political conference immediately for the peaceful settlement of the Korean question. However, US imperialism

has not carried out but violated this agreement and still refuses to quit south Korea. If they are to act in accordance with the Armistice Agreement, they should withdraw, leaving the Korean question to the Koreans or solve the question through political negotiations.

If the US imperialists completely withdraw their troops from south Korea and leave the Korean question to the Koreans themselves, there will be a change in our attitude towards the United States. But, as long as they persist in their policy of aggression, there will be no change in our US policy.

US imperialism must also desist from its plot to help Japanese militarism to replace it in carrying out aggressive war in Asia. I do not think the Japanese people will allow Japanese militarism to commit acts of aggression for US imperialism. If US imperialism does not help Japan to play the role of the "leader" of Asia, and pulls out its aggressive troops from Korea, our US policy may change accordingly.

If the situation is relaxed, we will make effective use of it. We never intend to go against the developments. We want the relaxation of the situation; we do not want the aggravation of the tension.

The US imperialists are now resorting to a double-dealing tactics. They are accustomed to this. Historically, whenever they found themselves in adversity, the imperialists employed a double-dealing tactics, putting up the signboard of "peace" while continuing with their war preparations I think, therefore, we must sharpen vigilance against the imperialists' double-dealing tactics.

Lastly, you asked about the differences between the socialist countries and about our Party's position. I will make a brief comment on this.

As you know, differences exist between the socialist countries. We do not consider their differences as antagonism between states, resulting from their institutional contradictions

In the light of the Marxist-Leninist principles, there can be no antagonism between the socialist countries. The divergences of opinion between the socialist countries are, after all, ideological differences between brothers who are fighting together for the building of socialism and communism. Therefore, if the imperialists seek to gain something out of the differences between the socialist countries, it will be no more than an absurd illusion.

Our Party consistently strives to remove the differences between the socialist countries and strengthen the unity of the international communist movement. We hold that the socialist countries unite on the principle of opposing imperialism, supporting the international working-class movement and the national-liberation movement in colonies, defending the socialist system and not interfering in other countries' internal affairs. We are proposing to unite and wage a joint struggle on this principle even if there are differences between the fraternal parties and countries. We will not aggravate the split of the international communist movement; we will only strive to guarantee the unity. This is our Party's position.

Thank you for your attention. I hope we will make joint efforts for friendship between the Korean and Japanese peoples.

ANSWERS TO THE QUESTIONS RAISED BY THE IRAQI JOURNALISTS' DELEGATION

October 11, 1971

Question: We would like to tell you of our admiration and wonder at the experience acquired by the Workers' Party of Korea under your wise leadership.

Would you please tell us what you consider to be the most important experience of the fighting people of Korea and what they have contributed to the treasure house of mankind in their struggle for socialism?

Answer: First of all, I would like to say how grateful I am for your high estimation of our experience.

As you know, our country was formerly a colonial, semi-feudal society. Our people inherited a backward economy and culture from the old society, and even these were totally destroyed during the three-year war started by the US imperialists. In addition, we faced the task of building a new society in a country divided into north and south, opposed face to face with the US imperialist aggressors.

Though they were faced with many difficulties and ordeals as they advanced, the Korean people, always deeply convinced of the justness of their cause, fought an unyielding struggle. They thus put an end to age-old backwardness and poverty and rapidly built a new, decent socialist society. Today, an advanced

socialist system under which all people work and live happily, helping each other, has been established in our country where exploitation and oppression once prevailed. Our country has become a socialist industrial state with modern industries and a developed agriculture.

Our people owe all their victories and achievements in socialist revolution and construction to the wise leadership of the Workers' Party of Korea.

The most important characteristic of the guidance by the Workers' Party of Korea of our people's revolutionary struggle and work of construction is that it has thoroughly established Juche.

We have consistently followed the principle of settling all problems of revolution and construction independently, in the context of the actual conditions of our country, by relying mainly on our own efforts. We have creatively applied the universal principles of Marxism-Leninism and experiences gained by other countries in a way which suits our own country's historical conditions and national peculiarities. Thus we have made ourselves responsible for solving our own problems, whatever the circumstances, rejecting the spirit of dependence on others and displaying the spirit of self-reliance. The word Juche, widely known to the world, is a term which expresses this creative and independent principle and position adhered to by our Party in revolutionary struggle and work of construction.

Experience has proved to the full the correctness of the Juche idea.

By struggling to establish Juche in our ideology we have brought about the complete spiritual emancipation of our people from the shackles of flunkeyism, dogmatism and other archaic notions which had long been corroding our spirit of national independence. Our people's tendency to thoughtlessly discard things Korean in favour of swallowing foreign ways whole, has disappeared. Our national pride and spirit of independence has

been more awakened and our people have been increasingly encouraged to rely on their own efforts.

While establishing Juche in ideology, our Party has thoroughly embodied the Juche idea in all fields of revolution and construction.

Our Party's line of independence is the embodiment of the Juche idea in the political context.

In shaping its guidelines and policies for revolution and construction our Party has opposed any tendency to cling only to the existing formulae of Marxism-Leninism or swallow whole the experiences of other countries It has used its own brains to map out original lines and policies suited to Korea's specific conditions, and has implemented them by organizing and mobilizing the masses. On the question of the country's reunification, too, we maintain an independent position· the issue must be settled by our own people, without the interference of any outside forces, under the condition that the aggressive army of US imperialism be withdrawn from south Korea.

In external spheres, too, our Party has steadfastly maintained independence. We have developed friendly and cooperative relationships with other countries, both big and small, on the principles of complete equality and mutual respect. We have also continued to wage the anti-imperialist, anti-US struggle and the fight against opportunism of all hues, in conformity with our actual conditions, basing our actions strictly on our own judgment and beliefs

Our Party's line of building an independent national economy is the embodiment of the Juche idea in economic construction.

By relying largely upon our own technical skills and resources, and using our own cadres and people, we have maintained the revolutionary spirit of self-reliance. This has been our principle in developing the country's economy Our Party's line of building an independent national economy illustrates our people's real hope for complete national independence and prosperity, and

it has been behind the startling achievements in the socialist construction of our country.

Our country's economy is now independent, equipped with modern techniques and developed all round. As a result of this we have been able to develop the national economy at a steady, high rate and to improve the people's living conditions through our own efforts. Our independent national economy serves as a solid material guarantee for the political independence of the country and for the increase of our defence capacity.

In implementing Juche and relying on our own efforts we do not intend to build socialism in isolation. We fully recognize that it is necessary for states to supply each other's needs and cooperate with each other, and we are striving to expand and develop such relations. We believe that mutual cooperation between states should be conducted with a view to building an independent national economy in each country. This factor alone makes it possible to expand and develop economic cooperation between states on the principles of complete equality and mutual benefit.

We have held fast to a policy of self-defence in the development of our nation's defences. As a result of the implementation of the Party's self-reliant military line, our country has today come to possess its own defence forces, which are strong enough to crush all aggressors and enemies.

As I have explained, all the lines and policies of our Party proceed from, and are imbued with, the Juche idea. Juche in ideology, independence in politics, self-support in economy and self-defence in guarding the nation represent the revolutionary stand consistently adhered to by our Party.

Under the revolutionary banner of the Juche idea, our country has become a developed socialist country which has complete political sovereignty, a powerful independent national economy, strong self-defence potential and a shining national culture. As a result of the implementation of Juche, and reliance on our own efforts, we are now able to cooperate with other countries on the

principle of complete equality, and make a better contribution to the cause of international revolution.

In guiding the revolution and construction, our Party has striven to carry through the revolutionary mass line, while establishing Juche.

Socialism can be built only with the voluntary and creative labour of millions of people. Our Party, therefore, found the basic guarantee for the promotion of socialist construction in giving the major role to the revolutionary zeal and creative activity of the masses.

In our country, revolutionary struggle and work of construction has been conducted in all fields as a mass, popular movement. We have succeeded in all the huge and difficult tasks of revolution and construction by relying on the high degree of revolutionary zeal and creative energy of the people. An important key to the rapid progress of our socialist construction lies precisely in the fact that we have solved all our problems by the revolutionary method of relying on the masses and rousing them to action.

When we met with major difficulties and trials in socialist construction, we placed faith in the masses of the people, went among them, and had serious consultations with them on means of solving problems and effecting innovations. Through this, the working masses grasped the Party's intention and started a movement for collective innovation, carrying through the Party's lines and policies. This developed into the well-known Chollima Movement of Korea.

The Chollima Movement is our people's mass innovation movement to step up socialist construction to the maximum. It is the most brilliant embodiment of our Party's mass line in socialist construction, and through this very movement all the wisdom, enthusiasm and creative energy of our people have been brought into full play. With the spread of the Chollima Movement, innovations have taken place in all spheres of our econom

culture, ideology, and morality, and splendid achievements have been made in our socialist construction.

All our victories are the great victories of our Party's Juche idea and, at the same time, the brilliant victories of its revolutionary mass line.

Our experience shows that when Juche is firmly established as an ideology and is thoroughly embodied in all domains of revolution and construction and when the creative zeal and talents of the masses are brought into full play, it is possible, in a country, however backward it was in the past, to build rapidly a new, rich and strong society, rout any imperialist aggressors and defend national independence and the dignity of the people and achieve prosperity for the country and the people.

You have expressed your admiration for our experience, and we consider it to be encouragement in our work.

We have already worked a great deal, but we have much to do in the future. We have not yet reunified the country. The US imperialists continue to occupy the southern half of our country, maintaining a brutal colonial fascist rule.

The greatest national task confronting the Korean people is to drive the US imperialist aggressors out of south Korea, accomplish the national-liberation revolution and realize the reunification of the country. In order to accomplish the task, we are striving to build up more solidly the revolutionary base of the northern half of the Republic politically, economically and militarily, increase in every way the revolutionary forces in south Korea and, at the same time, strengthen solidarity with the international revolutionary forces.

Question: The relations between the Democratic People's Republic of Korea and the Republic of Iraq were established long ago. However, it was only after the July 17, 1968 Revolution that the relations took a decisive turn.

What is your opinion of the successes achieved by the Iraqi people in the two years after the revolution and, particularly, the solution of the Kurd

national problem on a peaceful and democratic basis and of its influence upon the strengthening of the anti-imperialist popular front?

Answer: The Iraqi people attained national independence through their protracted and arduous struggle against the domination of foreign imperialism and took the road to new development particularly after the July 17, 1968 Revolution. This was not only a great victory for the Iraqi people but a common victory for all those who have risen in the anti-imperialist national-liberation struggle. It was a heavy blow to the imperialists and colonialists.

Since the revolution, the Iraqi people, holding aloft the banner of anti-imperialism and independence, have waged a devoted struggle to consolidate national independence and to build a new, prosperous Iraq. They have achieved great successes in a short span of time.

Many difficulties confronted the Iraqi people at the outset of their struggle to build a new life The US and other imperialists, the Israeli aggressors and their accomplices, the local reactionary forces, all resorted to every underhand scheme to remove the Iraqi people from the anti-imperialist front.

Despite their sinister machinations, however, the imperialists and their lackeys could not crush the fighting spirit of the Iraqi people. The Iraqi people have developed the national economy and national culture through their creative labour, resolutely frustrating all the subversive plots and activities of the enemy and vigilantly defending their revolutionary gains

As for the successful solution of the Kurd national problem in Iraq, we commend it as one of the greatest achievements made by the Iraqi people in bringing about national unity

Antagonism and discord between races are a product of imperialist rule; they are advantageous only to the imperialists and simply detrimental to the people.

The peaceful, democratic settlement of the Kurd national problem is a telling blow to the imperialists and an important step in strengthening the anti-imperialist popular front, so further intensifying the anti-US, anti-Israeli struggle in Iraq. It will also consolidate Iraq internally and provide favourable conditions for the progressive development of the country.

The Government and people of the Republic of Iraq stand firm in the ranks of the struggle against imperialism and colonialism and actively support the Asian, African and Latin-American peoples in their struggle for freedom and liberation.

This righteous struggle of the Iraqi people contributes to the anti-imperialist revolutionary cause of people all over the world.

Question: The aggressive manoeuvres of US imperialism against the Indochinese peoples have been intensified through US military intervention in Cambodia.

What do you think of the consequences of this latest US aggression in this already inflamed region?

Answer: As is well known, the US imperialists' aggression against Cambodia is a link in the chain of their premeditated scheme to extend the war into ever broader areas of Indochina and Asia. Through their armed invasion of Cambodia, the US imperialists have set the stage for a naked, criminal war of aggression not only in Viet Nam and Laos but throughout Indochina.

This US imperialist policy of military expansion has rendered the strained situation of the Indochinese peninsula still more acute. It is gravely menacing peace in Asia and the world as a whole.

However, this expansion of war in Indochina places the US imperialists in an ever more difficult position and hastens the

aggressors' defeat. The US imperialist aggressors have stretched out their crooked hands to the whole area of Indochina, thereby incurring the indignant denunciation and resistance of all the Indochinese peoples and peace-loving people throughout the world. This new aggression bands all the peoples of Indochina in a single common front against US imperialism and draws more and more peoples into the joint anti-US struggle.

Now the Vietnamese, Laotian and Cambodian peoples, united closely, are fighting courageously against the US imperialist aggressors, their common enemy. They are inflicting successive serious political and military setbacks upon the aggressors and driving the US imperialists into hopeless confusion. Contrary to the expectations of the US imperialists, the whole of Indochina has become a graveyard for the aggressors. No frantic manoeuvres made by the US imperialists can bring the heroic Indochinese peoples to their knees.

The US imperialist aggressors will certainly drink the bitter cup of a crushing defeat after this expansion of the war in Indochina. The complete defeat of the US imperialists in Indochina is inevitable. The militant solidarity of the Indochinese peoples and all the fighting peoples in Asia is strengthened day by day in the midst of the joint struggle against US imperialist aggression. With the support of the Asian peoples and the progressive people of the whole world, the Indochinese peoples will strike harder blow at US imperialism and its lackeys and will thus ase out the aggressors, win liberation and independence for eir countries and bring them to new prosperity.

The Korean people see the aggression of US imperialism against the Indochinese peoples as aggression against themselves. We regard the struggle of the Indochinese peoples as our own. Our people will fight more resolutely against US imperialism, the common enemy, and will do everything in their power to assist the fighting peoples of Viet Nam, Laos and Cambodia.

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and encouragement for the Arab people's revolutionary struggle. The Korean people will resolutely continue to support the Palestinian people's valiant struggle to liberate their fatherland. They will also firmly support the struggle of the entire Arab people against Zionism and imperialist aggression and will always remain close comrades-in-arms of the Arab people in the fight against the common enemy. Our people will always render active support and encouragement to the legitimate struggle of the Arab people.

Availing myself of this opportunity, I sincerely wish the Arab people greater successes in their just struggle against US imperialism and the Israeli aggressors.

ON PRESENT POLITICAL AND ECONOMIC POLICIES OF THE DEMOCRATIC PEOPLE'S REPUBLIC OF KOREA AND SOME INTERNATIONAL PROBLEMS

Answers to the Questions Raised by Newsmen of the Japanese Newspaper *Yomiuri Shimbun*

January 10, 1972

It is my great pleasure to welcome you to our country.

Over the past years you have been friendly towards our country and have given great assistance to our citizens in Japan in their activities to defend their democratic, national rights and in their repatriation work.

You have also done much to improve relations between Korea and Japan.

We are grateful for this.

You have spoken a great deal about our on-the-spot guidance. We go to the masses to learn from them rather than to try to guide them.

We had been engaged in the revolutionary struggle in the past, and when we set about national building, we came up against many problems. In order to solve these problems we decided we should go to the masses, particularly the workers and peasants—the producers—and learn from them. That is why

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I received your questions through the Central Committee of the Korean Journalists' Union.

They concern many problems in vast fields of activities.

For convenience's sake, I would like to classify them in groups according to their contents in order to give answers.

1. ON THE JUCHE IDEOLOGY

You asked me to explain the Juche ideology in detail.

I will give you a brief answer.

I think you will get a clearer idea of it if you read some of my books on the subject.

The Juche idea is the sole guiding idea of our Party and the guiding principle for all activities of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea. Taking the Juche idea as an unshakable guide in revolution and construction, we have firmly established Juche in all domains of our endeavours.

Establishing Juche means that the people approach the revolution and construction in their own country as masters. In other words, it means the embodiment of independent and creative spirits; the people must adopt an independent and creative stand to solve mainly by themselves all the problems arising from the revolutionary struggle and constructive work, in the context of their own country's actual conditions.

The revolution can neither be exported nor imported Foreigners cannot carry out the revolution for us. The people are the masters of the revolution in each country, and the decisive factor of victory in this revolution is the strength of the country itself.

Moreover, as the revolutionary movement of the working

class and the popular masses forges ahead, many new problems, difficult and complex, arise.

Therefore, in order to carry out the revolution in each country, the people themselves as masters of the revolution, must endeavour and fight, and through their own intelligence, judgment and efforts, solve all the problems that arise from the revolution and construction, in terms of the situation in their country. This is the only way to successfully carry out the revolution and construction.

Thus, the Juche idea demands that everyone make the revolution in his country the focal point of his thinking and revolutionary activity. Revolution and construction are carried on by people. For victory in the revolution, therefore, people must have a correct revolutionary world outlook, and it is important for them to have the readiness and ideas to accept responsibility as masters for the revolution and construction in their own country.

The Juche idea is based on these requirements of the revolution.

Establishing Juche was especially important for us. Long ago some people in our country developed flunkeyism towards great powers—the servile attitude of not believing in their own strength but worshipping others whether right or wrong and serving those powers. Even when the country was in danger, those who were infected by this attitude engaged in sectarian strife with the backing of their masters, looking to others for help instead of trying to meet the crises by relying firmly on their own people and their own efforts. As a result, our country was eventually ruined at the hands of others.

Flunkeyism towards great powers was not eliminated even later on and, accompanied by dogmatism, did great harm to the development of our revolution. The main reason for the collapse of the nationalist movement and the failure of the early communist movement in our country lay in flunkeyism and sectarianism resulting from it.

There are many such instances not only in our country but also in other countries. In some countries there appeared factionalists who failed to maintain a Juche-motivated stand in the national-liberation and communist movements following the ideological trends of foreign countries, greatly hampering the development of revolution.

We learned from this the serious lesson that when a person takes to flunkeyism he becomes an idiot, when a nation takes to flunkeyism the country is ruined and when a party takes to flunkeyism it makes a mess of the revolution.

If one, captivated by flunkeyism, blindly follows others and acts as they do, he cannot find out the cause of an error he commits, nor the way to remedy it. But when one judges all matters for himself and solves them to suit the actual conditions of his own country, he will be able not only to conduct the revolution and construction successfully but will also be able to quickly find out the cause of an error and remedy it even if he is at fault.

In the light of this historical experience, the Korean revolutionaries were determined to definitively avoid sliding into flunkeyism in the revolutionary struggle and build a state independent and sovereign in the true sense of the words, on the basis of the Juche idea, when they would establish a new country in the future. This was the unanimous intention of the early Korean revolutionaries.

The establishment of Juche became increasingly important to us following the August 15 Liberation Because of US imperialist occupation of south Korea, our revolution became difficult and complex; the flunkeyist idea of worshipping, fearing and submitting to America took root in south Korea and illusions about Japanese militarism became widespread.

Viewing the establishment of Juche as the key to the destiny of the revolution and construction, we have struggled unyieldingly all the time against flunkeyism and dogmatism in order to firmly establish Juche. Through this historic battle, we achieved

the complete spiritual emancipation of our people from the yoke of flunkeyist ideas which had corroded the spirit of national independence and creative wisdom for a long time. The Juche idea has been thoroughly embodied in all areas of the revolution and construction in our country.

Our people as well as the Party members and cadres arm themselves thoroughly with the Juche idea. They do not waver in the least, regardless of the winds that may blow in from other countries, and are not at all affected by these winds. The thoughts of our people are very sound.

You asked about the essential points of our Juche-based policy.

All our Party's internal and external policies are based on the Juche idea and proceed from it. Juche underlies our specific measures as well as all lines and policies, political, economic, cultural and military.

The Juche idea is embodied, first of all, in the lines of political independence, economic self-support and national self-defence.

Political independence is the prime criterion of any sovereign state. Only when a nation exercises its legitimate right to political self-determination, can it ensure the country's complete independence.

We have established and are establishing all our lines and policies independently on the Juche idea. We do not act on orders or instructions from any foreigners; neither do we copy nor imitate foreign ways. None of the policies determined and implemented by our Party since liberation have been copied. They were created by ourselves in accordance with the requirements of our revolution from the standpoint of Juche.

This does not mean that we do not refer at all to revolutionary movements of other countries and their experiences. We have objectively considered foreign ways and creatively applied the universal principles of Marxism-Leninism to suit our actual

conditions from the Juche stand. That is why we have not committed errors and have been able to steer the revolution and construction along the right path.

From our Juche standpoint we have solved all issues entirely in accordance with the actual conditions of our country.

As an example, in order to lay the foundation for an independent national economy and to ensure rapid improvement in the impoverished lives of people in conditions of the severe ravages of war, we advanced our basic line of socialist economic construction, that of giving priority to the growth of heavy industry simultaneously with the development of light industry and agriculture. This is an original line arrived at by correctly reflecting the demands of our own economic development and through the creative interpretation of Marxist-Leninist theory.

After properly assessing our specific requirements, we also established a policy of agricultural cooperativization to reorganize the economic forms prior to technological reconstruction We proposed the reorganization on socialist lines of the capitalist commerce and industry. These proposals were original and unknown in other countries. When our Party advanced this line and proposals, those who were infected with flunkeyism and dogmatism criticized them, saying, "No book has ever dealt with them," and "They had never been tried before." But the validity of the line and proposals has been proved by the fact that our country has become a socialist industrial state with a developed agriculture in a brief span of time.

With regard to our intelligentsia, we have also followed a policy different from that in other countries.

Despite their former wealth, the old intellectuals of our country have a national, revolutionary spirit, because they were subjected to national oppression and discrimination under the colonial rule of Japanese imperialism.

As for those intellectuals who were educated in the old way

and worked in bourgeois or feudal society, if they wanted to work for the people and the development of the nation, we pursued the policy of developing the revolution together with them, educating and remoulding them in the practice of revolution. Thus, they have been remoulded as revolutionary intellectuals serving the revolutionary cause of the working class. They have already done a great deal and even now, are still working faithfully.

The Juche ideology is demonstrated in our unique line of simultaneously building up the nation's economy and defences to increase both our economic and defence powers to meet the imperialist manoeuvres for aggression and war, and also in our original line and policy of peaceful reunification of Korea by the Koreans themselves, following the expulsion of the US imperialist aggressors from south Korea, and free from foreign interference.

That is why all our Party's policies are in accord with the actual conditions of our country and the aspirations of our people, and we are able to firmly maintain our political independence without indecision in adversity.

Economic self-support is the material basis of political independence. The country which depends economically on others cannot help depending on others politically.

This was why immediately after liberation we put forward the line of building an independent national economy and implemented it despite all difficulties.

To build an independent national economy by one's own efforts does not mean closing the door of one's country. While building an independent national economy under the banner of self-reliance, we have developed economic relations of mutual accommodation and cooperation with other countries on the principles of complete equality and mutual benefit.

Our struggle has borne good fruit and, as a result, we now have a comprehensively developed independent national econo-

my equipped with modern technology. This firmly guarantees the political independence of the country.

National self-defence is the military guarantee for the country's political independence and economic self-support. As long as the world is divided into national states and imperialism remains on the globe, one cannot speak of independence and self-support if one has not the defence capacity to safeguard his country and people from foreign aggression.

By thoroughly implementing the military line of self-defence, we have built up an enormous defence capacity for smashing any provocation of the aggressors and firmly defending the country's security and the revolutionary gains.

With the thorough implementation of the principles of independence in politics, self-support in the economy and self-defence in guarding the nation, we have built the proud, powerful and reliable new socialist country that we aspired for. If we had not established Juche but bent instead with the wind and danced to the tune of others, we could not hope for today's successes.

Some capitalist newspapers call a socialist country maintaining independence "national communism". Our Juche ideology has nothing in common with the "national communism" which the reactionaries are noisily talking about.

The Juche ideology is based on Marx's principle "Workers of all countries, unite!" and is in full accord with proletarian internationalism.

We make it a principle to maintain and defend independence on the Juche ideology and, at the same time, to strengthen internationalist unity and cooperation. The independence we advocate is by no means separated from proletarian internationalism. There can be no internationalism separated from independence, and vice versa. It does not befit a Communist to turn his back on proletarian internationalism under the pretext of maintaining independence. This means simply sliding into ethnocentrism.

At that time, we directed considerable efforts towards strengthening the defence forces and attained a state of complete national defence, even though this impeded our economic development and the betterment of the people's living standards. That was how we were able to prevent the American imperialists from daring to attack us, though they openly attempted armed invasion of the northern half of the Republic by creating the *Pueblo* and *EC-121* incidents.

Despite the difficult conditions we succeeded in carrying out the Seven-Year Plan. Although it took us ten years to complete the plan, our national economy nevertheless developed at a very high tempo. In the past decade during the implementation of the plan, our industrial production has grown at an average annual rate of 12.8 per cent.

This is I think a very high rate of development in comparison with other countries, and our people are very proud of this achievement.

Last year we embarked upon a new long-range project, the Six-Year Plan.

This plan is a blueprint for making great strides in the struggle to consolidate our socialist system even further and achieve complete victory for socialism. It is a blueprint for turning our socialist country into a richer and stronger state—independent, self-supporting and self-defensive.

As was clarified in the report to the Fifth Party Congress, the basic task of the Six-Year Plan in the field of socialist economic construction is that of cementing the material and technical foundations of socialism and freeing the working people from arduous labour in all fields of the national economy. This will be achieved through the consolidation and expansion of our successes in industrialization and the advance of the technical revolution onto a new and higher plane.

The main contents of the Six-Year Plan consist of three major objectives of the technical revolution.

The objectives advanced by our Party are, firstly, to vigorously propel the technical revolution in industrial branches to narrow down the distinction between heavy and light labour; secondly, to continue to accelerate the technical revolution in the countryside to reduce the difference between agricultural and industrial labour; and thirdly, to extend the technical revolution towards freeing women from the heavy burdens of household chores. Simply stated, the three major tasks of the technical revolution are dedicated revolutionary endeavours to free the working people from heavy and strenuous labour.

They express the requirements for our economic development following the realization of socialist industrialization, coupled with the earnest wishes of the working people.

Our Party decided that the production of machine tools was the key to the three major tasks of the technical revolution.

The technical revolution is precisely an engineering revolution. It requires adequate supplies of machine tools.

Therefore, last year—the first year of the Six-Year Plan—we concentrated our efforts on the production of machine tools Heartily responding to the Party's call, our machine-tool factory workers, including those from the Huichon Machine-tool Plant, energetically struggled to increase production through improvements in equipment and extensive automation of production processes. As a result, our engineering industry surpassed the level of producing 30,000 machine tools in a single year.

We have already made a major breakthrough in the implementation of the three tasks of the technical revolution, and now have before us good prospects for the successful completion of the Six-Year Plan.

In order to carry out the three major tasks, we will persevere in the production of machine tools, increasing output and variety and improving their quality. We will also continue to increase the production of tractors and automobiles and turn out more of various farm machines. And for the continuous intensi-

fication of the technical revolution, we intend directing great efforts to the development of the electronics and automation industries.

We will also increase production of steel and nonferrous metals for the engineering industry, as well as for the electronics and automation industries.

Judging by our achievements in the past year and the fighting spirit of our working people, we are certain that the three tasks of the technical revolution will be successfully fulfilled in a short span of time.

During the Six-Year Plan our people's standard of living will also be further improved.

Today our people have no worries about food, clothing and housing, and are leading a decent egalitarian life.

During the Six-Year Plan we intend to take steps to raise even higher their standards of living. The most important task we have set ourselves in the improvement of living standards is that of eliminating as quickly as possible the difference in the standards of living of workers and peasants, and the difference between urban and rural living conditions.

To this end, we will develop the county centres enhancing their role as supply bases for the rural areas, introduce bus services in all rural villages and provide them with water supplies. We will also build houses for 300,000 families each year in both towns and the countryside, and will continue to develop public health services. We will raise the wages of workers and office employees as a whole, and bring about a new upswing in the production of consumer goods, thereby significantly improving the general living standard of our working population.

Providing we work efficiently for a number of years, our people should be able to live as well as in any other nation.

During the Six-Year Plan, we intend also proceeding vigorously with the cultural revolution in parallel to the technical revolution.

During this period the number of technicians and specialists will be increased to more than one million, the working people's level of general knowledge and their technological skill as a whole will be raised, and science, literature, the arts and physical culture and sports will be further developed.

One of the important tasks in the cultural revolution during the same period will be the enforcement of compulsory ten-year education.

With the introduction in 1967 of compulsory nine-year technical education in our country, all children and youths between 7 and 16 have received free education at regular schools. The introduction of this compulsory education was a landmark in the development of public education and the construction of socialist culture in our country. As a result, all members of our young generation are growing into versatile and reliable men, possessing wide general knowledge and the basics of modern science and technology.

We are going to introduce compulsory ten-year schooling following the successes and experiences gained in the compulsory nine-year technical education, and further improve the educational work in accordance with our Party's socialist pedagogic principles.

The introduction of universal compulsory ten-year education will bring about big progress in improving school education and in developing science and technology in our country. Of course, it is by no means an easy task to introduce compulsory education over a ten-year period, and to do this, the state must invest considerable funds. But we have strength enough to carry it out and we are sparing nothing for the education of our future generations. Last year we introduced the ten-year plan on an experimental basis in certain schools, accumulated experiences and laid its foundation to some extent. We intend to introduce compulsory ten-year education on a full scale throughout the country within a few years, beginning this year.

It is of great importance in developing a socialist society to properly combine the politico-ideological unity of the people with the class struggle.

This is why our Party has always paid great attention to this aspect.

In the northern half of our country the exploitation of man by man ceased to exist and a socialist system came into being a long time ago. As a result, the correlations of the working people have become a comradely relationship of mutual assistance and cooperation, which has further strengthened the politico-ideological unity of the entire people.

This, of course, does not imply that the unity of the popular masses grows stronger by itself simply because of the establishment of socialist system. Under this system there remain hostile elements, though insignificant, and there are also remnants of outdated ideas in the minds of the working people.

Therefore, in order to consolidate firm revolutionary ranks and successfully build socialism, we should properly combine our activities to strengthen the unity and solidarity of the people with the struggle against the subtle manoeuvres of hostile elements.

Under socialism the basis of social relations is the alliance of the working class, peasantry and intelligentsia. However, if one forgets this fact and emphasizes or overestimates only the class struggle, he will commit a "Leftist" error. In that instance, one would tend to suspect people, treat the innocent as hostile elements and create in society an atmosphere of unrest.

On the other hand, under socialism there are also hostile elements and obsolete ideological hangovers, and a class struggle continues. If one does not remember this fact but only sees and absolutizes the politico-ideological unity of the people, he will commit a Rightist error. In this instance, vigilance against hostile elements could be dulled, the struggle against outdated ideas

weakened and the capitalist way of life could become widespread.

Therefore, we guard against Right and "Left" deviations and skilfully combine the fight against hostile elements with the work of cementing unity and solidarity among the working people. This leads to a constant strengthening in the unity and cohesion of the masses.

In order to strengthen politico-ideological unity among the working people, we must revolutionize and working-classize the whole society by giving priority to the ideological revolution.

Only when priority is given to the ideological revolution can the historical task of revolutionizing and working-classizing the whole society be solved successfully, and the ideological and material fortresses in socialist and communist construction be occupied at an earlier date.

To revolutionize and working-classize the entire society amounts to a class struggle to remove all the outdated ideas and non-working-class elements from every facet of social life. But this is totally different from the former class struggle, and the form of this struggle is also different.

The task of revolutionizing and working-classizing people is that of remoulding the working people in their fight for earlier and better construction of socialism and communism, and this arises from the need to introduce all working people to communist society. That is why our Party has conducted, and is conducting, the revolutionization and working-classization of the working people through explanation and persuasion, with the main emphasis on ideological education.

We have made tireless efforts in this direction among people from all walks of life on the principle of boldly trusting all those who wish to follow our Party, and of winning them over to the side of revolution, even when their family origins, their backgrounds and their social and political careers are questionable.

Because we have conducted the struggle for revolutionizing

and working-classizing the whole society along the right lines, our people's ideological and moral qualities have now undergone a radical change, and our society has been consolidated internally more than ever before.

The unity of our workers, cooperative farmers and working intellectuals has been further cemented, and all the working people make up a great, united Red family, helping and leading each other forward.

The process of building socialism and communism is a process of revolutionizing the workers, peasants, intellectuals and all the other members of society, and of obliterating all class distinctions through the transformation of the entire society on a working-class pattern.

The building of socialism and communism requires the elimination of differences between the working class and the peasantry in their working conditions through the developed productive forces and, at the same time, the gradual obliteration of distinctions in the thought and morality, cultural and technical levels of all members of society.

An important problem in this connection is the correct solution of the rural question.

Only when a socialist state ends the backwardness of the countryside through the final settlement of the rural question, can it completely eliminate the breeding grounds for reactionary bourgeois virus infiltrating from outside and the footholds for the remnants of the overthrown exploiting classes to engage in insidious manoeuvres. And only by elevating cooperative property to the level of public property, can we greatly develop the productive forces of agriculture, root out the elements of selfishness remaining in the minds of the peasants, and lead all the working people confidently along the road of collectivism to work with much voluntary enthusiasm for society and the people.

Our Party has actively promoted the technical, cultural and ideological revolutions in the rural areas along the lines outlined

in the *Theses on the Socialist Rural Question in Our Country*. The Party is thus eliminating the technological lag of agriculture behind modern industry, the cultural backwardness of the villages in relation to advanced towns, and the ideological lag of the peasants behind the working class, the most revolutionary class. We are also continuously strengthening the working-class party's and state's guidance and assistance to the rural areas, and are steadily bringing cooperative property closer to public property, while organically welding the development of the two.

Thus, once class distinction between the working class and the peasantry is eliminated and cooperative property is turned into public property, the entire society will achieve complete political and ideological unity with the common ideology on the same socio-economic basis. We are striving to hasten the day when this will be realized.

3. ON THE PROBLEM OF THE REUNIFICATION OF OUR COUNTRY

Today the general situation in our country is developing very favourably for the struggle of our people for the independent and peaceful reunification of the country

The successes of socialist construction in the northern half of the country scored under the banner of Juche idea further consolidate the political and economic basis for the independent reunification of the country, give great hope and confidence to the people of the southern half and vigorously rouse them to the struggle for peaceful reunification.

Lately, a tendency towards peaceful reunification is rapidly expanding in south Korea and the struggle against fascist rule and for the democratization of society is gaining momentum as

never before. The massive advance of the youth, students and people that has continued both before and after last year's puppet presidential "election" and brisk arguments about national reunification in public and political circles, indicate that demands for peaceful reunification against the present ruling system in south Korea are rising with an irresistible force.

As our policy for peaceful reunification enjoys the unanimous support not only of the Korean people but of the broad public opinion of the world, and the tendency towards peaceful reunification increases in south Korea, even the south Korean authorities who had previously rejected any contact between the north and the south, were obliged, under the pressure of these trends, to attend the north-south Red Cross talks. I think that the preliminary talks between the north and south Red Cross organizations held at Panmunjom are belated and have a limited scope of problems under discussion, but they are very significant since Koreans themselves have come together to discuss the nation's internal affairs. It can be said that this is a step forward in our people's struggle for peacefully reunifying the divided country.

Our stand on the talks between the north and south Red Cross organizations is clear. We want to bring the talks to success by showing our utmost sincerity and thus rid our people as soon as possible of the sufferings due to the division and pave the way, using these talks as a stepping stone, to the peaceful reunification of our country.

But the stand of the south Korean authorities is quite the opposite. From the first day they were compelled to attend the talks, they dragged them out under this or that pretext and poured cold water on the growing tendency towards peaceful reunification, saying: "Don't get too excited," and "It is premature." Moreover, they claimed that we would soon "invade the south" as we had "already prepared for war", and they declared a "state of national emergency". They are presently trumping up

various evil fascist laws to buttress this declaration and are deliberately aggravating the situation.

This type of manoeuvre by the south Korean puppet clique cannot be interpreted as otherwise than being designed to prolong their remaining days by detracting from the increasing trend towards peaceful reunification in south Korea, and by frustrating north-south contacts and negotiation to perpetuate national division. It is not an accident that certain reactionary ruling circles and government-controlled press in the United States and Japan say that the proclamation of the "state of emergency" in south Korea is not because of the threat of "southward aggression" but, rather, a political trick hatched due to the internal situation.

With such foolish tactics the south Korean rulers can solve nothing, much less deceive anyone

It seems that alarmed by the rapid change of internal and external situations to their disadvantage, they are going on a rampage. *But they need to cool their heads and think over matters calmly.*

Now the times and situation have changed

The situation today is different from that of the 40's when the US imperialists could divide our country into north and south, abusing the name of the "United Nations". The day has gone when they could rule the roost meddling in the affairs of other countries.

Now the US imperialists and Japanese militarists can hardly deal with their own affairs.

We think the time has come when the south Korean rulers should give up their present anti-national stand—seeking a way out by turning their backs on their compatriots and clinging to the sleeves of the US imperialist aggressors, and calling in the Japanese aggressors.

If the south Korean rulers are to find a true way out, they should adopt a national stand, immediately renounce their

absurd assertion to "build up strength" with the backing of outside forces to overpower north Korea by force and thereby attain "reunification by prevailing over communism". They should accept our fair and sincere proposals to reunify the country in a peaceful way through the joint efforts of the Korean people themselves.

You asked about our concrete programme for the reunification of the country. Our programme for national reunification is no different from the previous one. We have constantly maintained that the question of our country's reunification, an internal affair of our nation, should be solved not by the interference of outside forces but by the efforts of the Korean people themselves, and not by means of war, but in a peaceful way.

We reclarified the programme for the independent, peaceful reunification of the country in the eight-point proposal for national salvation advanced at a session of the Supreme People's Assembly of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea held in April last year, in the speech made on August 6 last year and in this year's New Year Address. We will continue to make every effort in the future to realize this programme.

A successful conclusion of the talks between the north and south Red Cross organizations, amid the great interest of the whole nation, will create a favourable atmosphere for the peaceful reunification of the country.

The south Korean authorities, talking about some sort of "stage", claim that this can be done and that not, and that only something should be done first and the other things deferred. These are delaying tactics and not the correct attitude for solving our problems.

If the north-south Red Cross talks yield good results and free traffic is realized between the families, relatives and friends presently divided, their sufferings will be lessened and, at the same time, frozen feelings between north and south will be thawed, thus deepening mutual understanding.

The removal of tension in our country is a matter of vital importance for the peaceful reunification of the country as well as for peace in Asia and the rest of the world.

In order to remove this tension, it is necessary, first of all, to replace the Korean Armistice Agreement with a peace agreement between north and south. We maintain that a peace agreement should be concluded between north and south and the armed forces of both sides be cut drastically following the prior withdrawal of US imperialist aggressor troops from south Korea.

We have made it clear more than once that we have no intention of "invading the south". If the south Korean rulers have no intentions of "marching north for reunification", there should be no reason for them to refuse a north-south peace agreement. If they truly want peace in our country and peaceful reunification, they should consent to this peace agreement, instead of clamouring about fictitious "threats of southward aggression"

We advocate strengthening contacts and ties between north and south and holding mutual political negotiations to solve the question of national reunification.

Many problems arise in bringing about peaceful reunification putting an end to the tragedy of national division. All these problems can only be satisfactorily solved through direct political negotiations between north and south.

We are ready to negotiate with the Democratic Republican Party, the New Democratic Party, the Nationalist Party and all other political parties in south Korea at any time and at any agreed place. The south Korean authorities now say this and that even without meeting us We do not feel that the rejection of negotiations while giving lip service to "peaceful reunification" is the proper attitude towards the peaceful settlement of the reunification question. For the peaceful solution of this issue the various political parties of both north and south Korea must hold active bilateral or multilateral negotiations to exchange politi-

cal views on national reunification and find a reasonable way towards peaceful settlement.

We keep our door constantly open to anyone for north-south negotiations and contacts. If anyone, regardless of earlier crimes against the country and the people, sincerely repents his past and takes the road of patriotism for the peaceful reunification of our country, we will not ask about his past crimes but gladly negotiate with him on the question of national reunification.

If all Koreans unite and fight for the reunification of our country, we will be able to drive out the US and Japanese aggressors, overcome the crisis of national ruin created in south Korea and undoubtedly achieve the peaceful reunification of the country. We are sure that although the question of Korean reunification is still complicated, there is nevertheless the prospect of an eventual peaceful solution in accordance with the will of our people and on the principle of national self-determination.

4. ON SOME INTERNATIONAL PROBLEMS

We are seeing in our time the decline of the strength of imperialism while the forces of the people towards peace, democracy, national independence and socialism are gaining in scope and strength.

The US imperialists, who sustained in the Korean war an ignominious defeat for the first time in their history, are incessantly being beaten and cornered everywhere in the world and keep going down.

war movement proceeds with great force and there is increasing antagonism among the ruling circles. The economy has fallen into chronic stagnation and American international payments are constantly deteriorating. The US imperialists sustain one defeat after another in Indochina and other parts of the world while being isolated from their satellite countries as well as from their imperialistic colleagues.

The US imperialists oppressed and controlled others through nuclear blackmail and dollars but their strength has *now waned. Now that nuclear blackmail* no longer works and the *dollars in their pockets* have run out, few countries toe American imperialism's line. In order to get out of their difficulties, the US imperialists have formulated the notorious "Nixon doctrine" which is aimed at making Asians fight Asians and the Middle East people fight each other. But nobody, except a stupid person such as Sato, would support this doctrine.

Under these conditions, the US imperialists have again put up the "peace" signboard, and Nixon finds himself compelled to go on a tour of mendicant diplomacy with his cap in his hand

But this does not mean that US imperialism has been completely ruined or that its true colours have changed. US *imperialism remains the main force of imperialism* and its aggressive nature has not changed in the least. Whenever the imperialists get into difficulties, they usually perpetrate crafty acts of aggression and war *under the signboard of "peace"*

Resorting to a double-dealing policy, the US imperialists are now making more insidious attempts to invade other countries. The peoples of revolutionary and all fighting countries must therefore maintain their constant vigilance against the US imperialist machinations for new aggression and war carried on behind the curtain of "peace", and firmly unite to wage a more vigorous struggle against these imperialists. This is the only way to defend peace and attain national independence and social progress.

The US imperialists attach special importance to Japanese militarism in realizing the "Nixon doctrine" in Asia.

They have long followed the policy of using Japanese militarism as the "shock force" in their Asian aggression, and the Japanese militarists, availing themselves of this policy, have been manoeuvring to achieve their own goals. The US-Japan summit talks held a few days ago were in lower spirits than previous talks, but showed that the collusion and conspiracy between these two aggressive forces remains unchanged in their Asian aggression. In the "joint communique" issued after the talks, Nixon and Sato reaffirmed the notorious "US-Japan security pact" and promised to "closely cooperate" with each other in Asian aggression under the pretext of "peace" and "stability".

Under the aegis and backing of US imperialism, Japanese militarism has been revived and the Japanese militarists have developed into a dangerous force of aggression in Asia. This is a hard fact.

Following the imperialist pattern, the Japanese militarists, in invading other countries, are employing the methods of economically subordinating those countries through a massive influx of goods and capital. They also paralyse their peoples' spirit of independence through intensified ideological and cultural infiltration, and even send in their armed forces of aggression on the pretext of protecting Japanese economic rights.

Our country is the first target of Japanese militarism in its overseas aggression programme.

The Japanese militarists, in conspiracy and collaboration with the south Korean puppets, have now extended their black, aggressive hands deep into the political, economic, cultural and military fields of the southern half of our country. They have also worked out operation plans for invading our country, and other socialist countries of Asia, and are conducting successive

war exercises. Sato has gone so far as to vociferate for a "pre-emptive attack" against our country.

Such being the case, to argue about whether Japanese militarism has been revived or not is out of date. The point is to oppose the aggressive machinations of revived Japanese militarism and struggle to check them.

The struggle of the Japanese people is very important in frustrating the aggressive scheme of the Japanese militarists. As I said formerly, the Japanese people are not as they were before. They are a people who have suffered the pains and evil aftereffect of the overseas aggression of militarism; they are an awakened people. They will not remain passive if the Japanese militarists dare try to unleash another war of aggression. The Japanese people themselves are now resolutely fighting for democracy, neutrality and peace against the militarist forces of aggression. This struggle brings great pressure to bear on the reactionary ruling circles of Japan.

Opinions are divided among the Japanese ruling circles about the launching of a war of aggression. There seem to be people who are opposed to war, because they feel that once a war breaks out the situation will become very difficult for them This is because Japan is an island country and imports nearly all industrial raw materials They also feel that the objects of their aggression will not be easy to deal with In fact, Asia today is unlike the Asia of yesterday, and its outlook has radically changed.

If all the anti-war forces in Japan unite and the Asian peoples, including the Koreans and Chinese, fight in concert, the Japanese militarists will not dare start a war, however wildly they may want it, and their aggressive machination will be easily frustrated.

Asia is now the main arena of the anti-imperialist revolutionary struggle and the developments in Asia exert a very great influence upon the changing situation of the whole world.

The peoples of our country, other socialist countries and the fighting nations of Asia, are achieving brilliant victories in the revolutionary struggle against imperialism and in the building of a new society, despite manifold difficulties and trials.

The US imperialists have pursued a policy of isolation and blockade against China for over 20 years. But China has not gone under. On the contrary, she has become a powerful socialist state, and has grown and strengthened into a reliable anti-imperialist revolutionary force. The international prestige of the People's Republic of China increases daily.

The People's Republic of China was restored to its legitimate position in the United Nations with the support of many countries, whereas the Chiang Kai-shek clique was expelled from all the UN bodies. This was a great event in the international political arena. It was a great victory for the Chinese people and also a victory for the peoples of the world who strive for peace and progress.

Through their heroic struggle against the US imperialist aggressors, the Vietnamese people have inflicted a crushing defeat upon the enemy and are greatly contributing to the world progressive people's cause of peace, national independence and socialism. The Vietnamese people are stepping up the fight to clear South Viet Nam of the aggressive forces of US imperialism and attain genuine independence and reunification of the country.

The Viet Nam question should be solved on the basis of the four-point proposal for the peaceful settlement of the Viet Nam question advanced by the Democratic Republic of Viet Nam and the seven-point proposal made by the Provisional Revolutionary Government of the Republic of South Viet Nam. If the US imperialists persist in challenging the Vietnamese people, refusing to accept their just demands, they will face a more ignominious defeat. The Vietnamese people will certainly win final victory in

their struggle, holding higher the revolutionary banner of anti-imperialism.

The Cambodian and Laotian peoples, who have already won great victories in the resistance struggle for national salvation against imperialism, are making constant powerful attacks on the US imperialists and their puppet mercenaries and have driven them into an inextricable corner.

In Asia the US imperialists are now living their last days

The peoples of Korea, China, Viet Nam, Cambodia, Laos and other Asian countries will unite firmly behind the banner of the anti-imperialist, anti-US common struggle to completely eliminate imperialism and all forms of colonialism, and thus build a new, independent and prosperous Asia.

As you know, some changes have also taken place recently in the United Nations, reflecting a change in the balance between progressive and reactionary forces in the world.

It is becoming difficult for the US imperialists to act as they please in the United Nations as in the past. This illustrates that the days are over when the US imperialists could commit crimes at will, abusing the UN flag.

As you have indicated, regarding the question of the United Nations, many countries and broad world public opinion now call 1972 the "year of Korea". Of course, we must wait and see whether this year will be the "year of Korea" or not, but we think it is an expression of the world people's support and trust in our struggle for national dignity, reunification and independence

As for our stand on the United Nations, the Democratic People's Republic of Korea has always respected the UN Charter and has never violated it.

It is the US imperialists themselves who have wantonly violated the UN Charter and defamed the name of the United Nations. Each time they resorted to policies of aggression and war, the US imperialists abused the UN flag Particularly, they

committed aggression on Korea under the UN mask and thus left a most disgraceful blot in UN history.

To be faithful to its sacred Charter, I think, the United Nations must rectify its past errors in connection with the Korean question.

The United Nations should revoke all "resolutions" on the "Korean question" fabricated illegally by the US imperialists in the world body. Or, it may adopt a just policy in the future towards Korea to ensure that all the previous illegal "resolutions" are nullified.

The United Nations must take steps to effect the withdrawal of the aggressive forces of US imperialism presently occupying south Korea under the "UN" authority, and dissolve its "Commission for the Unification and Rehabilitation of Korea", which is a tool of US imperialism for its aggression of Korea. The United Nations must stop any further interference in the Korean question.

5. ON THE PROBLEM OF RELATIONS BETWEEN KOREA AND JAPAN

Japan is a neighbour of ours. As you say, however, our two countries have now become "close yet distant neighbours". This cannot but be a very abnormal situation.

Historically speaking, our country was invaded by Japan, the latter being an aggressor on our country. But the aggressor was the Japanese imperialist, not the Japanese people. It is not a bad but a desirable development that the Democratic People's Republic of Korea and Japan, neighbours to each other, should establish normal relations.

Ever since its founding, the Democratic People's Republic of

Korea has hoped to establish good-neighbour relations with Japan despite the differing social systems. This stand is based on the fair and aboveboard foreign policy of our Republic which establishes amicable relations with all countries that adopt a friendly attitude towards our country on the principles of equality and mutual benefit.

To our regret, however, the Japanese government has been unfriendly towards our country from the outset. Although several Cabinet changes have been made from Yoshida to Kishi, Ikeda, and Sato, there has been no change in the Japanese government's hostile policy towards our country.

This hostile policy has become even more unscrupulous since Sato formed a Cabinet. The Japanese government has been making inroads into south Korea following the conclusion of the "ROK-Japan treaty" with the south Korean puppets, and encourages them to oppose national reunification and seek a fratricidal war. Japanese Prime Minister Sato and his followers openly talk about involvement in a war against the DPRK and wantonly insult the Korean people

It is entirely because of the Japanese government's hostile policy towards our country that good-neighbour relations have not yet been established between us.

Our stand on the relations between Korea and Japan is clear and constant. We hope even now to put an early end to this abnormal situation and establish normal relations between the two countries. We believe this is in the interest and in accord with the desire of our two peoples and also beneficial to peace in Asia and the world.

The Japanese government should, first of all, change its attitude towards our country in order to establish friendly relations, and thereafter diplomatic relations, between our countries.

Whether the Japanese Cabinet will be replaced is an internal affair, and so we will not meddle in the matter. The main point is the attitude of the Japanese government towards our

country. Even if the Prime Minister of Japan is replaced, relations between our two countries cannot be improved as long as its policy towards us remains unchanged. If the Japanese government adopts a friendly attitude towards our country, all problems will be solved smoothly.

The Japanese government should change its incorrect policy to keep abreast with present trends. It must give up its hostile policy towards the Democratic People's Republic of Korea. It must also abrogate the "ROK-Japan treaty", stop its act of reinvading south Korea, renounce the folly of trying to pit Koreans against Koreans by abetting the south Korean puppets and so fish in troubled waters.

These days an extensive campaign is afoot among the Japanese people and progressive circles to establish good-neighbour relations with the DPRK. Sometime ago there came into being the "Dietmen's League for Promotion of Japan-Korea Friendship" comprising 234 Diet members from the ruling and opposition parties. Local assemblies have also adopted resolutions demanding the establishment of state relations with the DPRK. We consider this is a very good development and hope their struggle will bear fine fruit.

If the Korean and Japanese peoples wage a joint struggle successfully, it will be possible to establish diplomatic relations between our two countries. Once this is done, the policy the Japanese government has so far wrongly pursued towards our country will end. We think that friendly relations between the two countries can be developed even before the establishment of diplomatic relations. The present conditions suggest that it will take some time for Korea and Japan to establish diplomatic relations. Even before we establish diplomatic relations with Japan, we are ready to have as many visits of people as possible and conduct wide-scale trade and interchanges in the economic and cultural fields.

The friendly relations between Korea and Japan should on

all accounts be established on the principle of reciprocity. Though there is presently some interchange between the two countries, it cannot but be unilateral in character, owing to the unfriendly attitude of the Japanese government. I wonder if the Japanese government is afraid of falling out of favour with either the United States or the south Korean puppets. It is clear that in these circumstances it is absolutely impossible to improve the relations between the two countries.

After all, the establishment of good-neighbour relations between Korea and Japan and its timing depend entirely on the attitude of the Japanese government, regardless of the concrete procedures for it.

As for the question of the 600,000 Koreans in Japan, it is, in essence, a matter which resulted from past colonial rule of the Japanese imperialists in our country Korean citizens in Japan are not accorded the treatment due to foreigners, although it is a stark fact that today they have their own fatherland. This is attributable also to the unfriendly attitude of the Japanese government towards our country.

Korean citizens in Japan have waged a strenuous struggle to defend their democratic, national rights, overcoming many difficulties. In particular, they formed Chongryon (the General Association of Korean Residents in Japan), an organization of overseas nationals of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea. They have splendidly embodied the Juche idea in the movement of Koreans in Japan and, united closely around Comrade Chairman Han Dok Su, have made great successes in the struggle to defend their democratic, national rights, promote the peaceful reunification of the country and cement international solidarity with the Japanese and the progressive people of the world.

It is thanks to the active support and encouragement of the Japanese people, progressive political parties and social organizations, and individuals from all walks of life that the Korean citizens in Japan under the guidance of Chongryon have scored

these successes despite various obstructive machinations by the Japanese government. We are very grateful for this support and take this opportunity to express through the *Yomiuri Shimbun* heartfelt thanks to our Japanese friends.

It is natural for the Korean citizens in Japan to defend their national rights and it accords with international law, too. Probably Japanese residing in other countries will also defend their rights, and will not waive them. This is the case with all nations.

Let me speak of the national education of Korean citizens in Japan.

As you know, a nation is characterized above all by community of its speech and letters. There can be no Korean nation separate from our spoken and written language. The Japanese government's persecution of the national education of Korean citizens in Japan, therefore, cannot be construed otherwise than an act prompted by an impure political motive. We attach great importance to their national education and intend to continue our assistance, both material and moral, to this work in the future.

The reactionary circles of the Japanese government, hand in glove with the south Korean puppet clique, are now forcing the Koreans in Japan to apply for "permanent residence" and imposing "ROK nationality" upon them. They are ostensibly talking about "freedom" to choose nationality, but, in fact, accord special "favours" to Koreans in Japan if the latter accept "ROK nationality", and bring unfair pressure to bear upon those who have the DPRK nationality.

It seems some Koreans in Japan, harassed by this, accept "ROK nationality". It leaves no doubt that although they are forced to change their nationality, they will give active support to the DPRK just as the south Korean people unanimously support us today.

The repatriation of Korean citizens in Japan which was

suspended for some time, has been resumed in accordance with the agreement reached between the Red Cross organizations of Korea and Japan. It is a positive step not only in defending the national rights of Korean citizens in Japan, but also in developing friendly relations between the Korean and Japanese peoples. We hope that with the support of the Japanese people, this operation will continue in the future, so all Korean citizens in Japan who want to return home may do so.

It is also important to guarantee to Korean citizens in Japan the freedom of travel to and from their homeland, along with the right to repatriation. Among the Korean citizens in Japan there may be some who cannot return home right now because of this or that reason. Nevertheless, they must not be deprived of the right to travel to and from their homeland. Of the foreigners now living in Japan, only Korean citizens are denied freedom to visit their homeland. This unwarranted discriminatory step and violation of human rights must be discontinued at once. The repatriation ship plying between Chongjin and Niigata should be allowed to carry not only those returning to their homeland, but also those who wish to visit their families, relatives and friends in Korea and then return to Japan

We respect the opinions of Chongryon in defending the democratic, national rights of Korean citizens in Japan. We believe that the Japanese people, progressive political parties and social organizations as well as individuals from all walks of life will consult well with Chongryon in future and continue to give valuable support and encouragement to the just struggle of the Korean citizens in Japan.

TALK WITH THE DELEGATION OF THE JAPAN NATIONAL ASSOCIATION OF SOCIALIST MAYORS

May 14, 1972

First of all, in the name of the Government of the Republic and the entire Korean people, I warmly welcome your visit to our country.

We know well that you and the Japanese people are making great efforts to develop friendly relations between Korea and Japan and, especially, are actively supporting, defending and helping the Korean citizens in Japan in their struggle for democratic, national rights and the independent, peaceful reunification of our fatherland. We are very happy to welcome you today as close friends.

I express my deep thanks to the head of the delegation and to you all for your precious gifts. The deputy head of the delegation has even sent us some oxen. Thank you very much.

I thank the head of the delegation and all of you for your generous words of praise for me and our people. We will not rest on our laurels in the least, but will work harder in the future to live up to your expectations.

You spoke a lot about our past successes in socialist construction. Of course, we made some achievements, but I think that when compared with the demands of our people this is no

more than an initial success, and we have more work to do in the future.

We have basically overcome our difficulties in socialist construction. Of course, there may still be difficulties on the road ahead, but because we have laid a firm independent economic base we are convinced that we can now develop our economy at a faster tempo.

As you know, our industry before liberation was very backward and moreover it was almost totally destroyed in the three-year war. This virtually means that we started building the economy from scratch after the war. Indeed, we built new towns, villages and factories on debris where there was nothing left at all.

It is true that we have not yet raised the people's living to a very high standard. But we have solved the problem of providing the working people with food, clothing and housing and given everyone the conditions for studying free of charge and receiving free medical care. This is a very great success in our building of a new society. By drawing on the successes we have already scored in our socialist construction, we will be even more successful in the future.

Since the Six-Year Plan for the development of our economy has been reported many times in the press, I think you are already well acquainted with it. Therefore, I will not give you a long explanation.

Because we reinforced the foundations of heavy industry, with the machine-building industry as its core, to a certain degree in the past, we are now in a position to develop our productive forces onto a higher plane and gradually free the working people from difficult and backbreaking labour. Hence, at the historic Fifth Congress of the Party we put forth three major tasks of the technical revolution for freeing the working people from difficult and arduous labour. When the Six-Year Plan is fulfilled, the difference between town and country, heavy and light la-

bour and industrial and agricultural labour will be sharply reduced, even though the three major tasks of the technical revolution will not have been fully completed during this plan. In our country this work is now proceeding very successfully.

I received your questions from the Society for Cultural Relations with Foreign Countries. I will answer them briefly.

I want to speak first about the international situation.

I will not speak long because I have spoken about it on many other occasions.

Today the international situation is developing in favour of the peoples fighting for peace and democracy, national independence and socialism and to the disadvantage of the imperialists and reactionaries. The day has gone when a few powers could dominate and lord it over the world as they chose. This is an era when the peoples fighting for justice and progress hold the initiative.

The US imperialists have just blockaded the Democratic Republic of Viet Nam and intensified their bombing raids. But this does not mean that they are going from victory to victory. This, in every respect, is nothing but the US imperialist aggressors' last-ditch frenzy as they face their doom. No matter how desperately they try, the Viet Nam question will definitively be solved in accordance with the will of the Vietnamese people. It will never be solved as the US imperialists want.

Today the conflict between the imperialist powers is being aggravated and the contradictions within imperialism itself are growing extremely acute.

The Japanese people are waging a staunch struggle against the Sato government's reactionary policy of tailing after US imperialism. I think their fighting spirit against US imperialism is mounting. It is natural that the Japanese people should struggle against US imperialism and the reactionary Sato government; it is an inevitable outcome of the process of historical development.

In the United States, too, the struggle of the people against the reactionary rulers and their policy of war is intensifying.

The ranks of the newly independent countries which have overthrown the colonial rule of imperialism and won national freedom have greatly expanded and the militant anti-imperialist spirit of the people of these countries is running ever higher. They are now vigorously forging ahead towards peace and socialism and waging an active struggle against ever becoming colonial slaves of the imperialists again.

The peoples of the colonial and dependent countries still oppressed by the imperialists are also fighting valiantly against imperialism.

Along with this, the might of the socialist countries is growing.

In a word, the day has gone when the imperialist powers could divide and dominate Asia, Africa and Latin America at will, and the day is coming when the people will dominate the world. With each passing day the general situation is developing in favour of the peoples making revolution and against imperialism and the forces of reaction. In general I think it is correct to assess the present international situation in this way.

Next, I will speak about the organization of administrative units in our country, the province, county and ri, and the functions and role of local government bodies

Our administrative units are the centre, province, county and ri. Before and right after liberation, there were five administrative units—the centre, province, county, myon and ri. When there is an intermediary unit, the decisions or orders of the upper unit do not go down quickly enough to the lower units, and the opinions of the people do not reach the upper unit quickly. So we abolished the myon.

Among our local administrative units, the county plays a central role. The province plays an intermediary role between the centre and the county. We are directing much effort to strength-

ening the county unit so that we will be in closer touch with the people.

Among the local power organs are the people's assemblies and people's committees. The people's assembly is an organ of power consisting of deputies who represent workers, peasants, working intellectuals and people of other strata. The ri people's assembly consists of deputies from the ri, the county people's assembly of deputies from the county and the provincial people's assembly of deputies from the province. The people's committee is an executive body which carries out the decisions of the people's assembly. It reports the result of its work to the people's assembly which holds regular sessions.

Our people's organs of power regard it their basic mission to serve the interests of the people. This is their main characteristic. We put forth the slogan: "The organs of power are the servants of the people." In other words, they serve the people.

Once the people set up a government, it should become the government of the people in the true sense of the word. It must not be otherwise, must not become the government of any individual ruler. To make it genuine people's power, the representatives elected from among the people must work in the interests of the people. If they fail to work in accordance with the will of the people, this power cannot be called genuine people's power.

Our experience and that of other socialist countries show that functionaries of the power organs elected by the people quite often become bureaucratic. Without combatting bureaucracy, the people's power organ cannot play its proper role as the servant of the people.

Bureaucracy manifests itself among functionaries in various ways. If people infected with the survivals of outmoded ideas are promoted to chairmanship, they work in a bureaucratic way, as if they were old-style government officials. Bureaucracy also stems from subjectivism. Now and then, although they try to do their work well, some functionaries work against the interests of

the people because they are not familiar with the actual conditions at the lower levels. We strictly prevent functionaries from doing this. We always emphasize the dangerous tendency of a ruling party to operate in a bureaucratic way, and lay our main emphasis on combatting bureaucracy in all power organs, whether local or central.

The main task of our local power organs is to look after the living conditions of the people with a high sense of responsibility.

The major economic bodies are guided directly by the relevant ministries. So the local power organs are responsible for guiding the domains chiefly associated with the livelihood of the people.

The local power organs take charge of and guide, above all, the commercial bodies.

They are important bodies which are directly responsible for providing the people with food, clothing and other daily necessities.

Our commercial bodies are fundamentally different from capitalist commercial bodies. The latter seek profit, whereas ours are entirely supply bodies for the population. They assume responsibility for supplying the population with commodities and take it as their basic task to distribute supplies evenly

Commodities are sold at uniform prices in our country. This keeps the commercial bodies from raising or lowering commodity prices as they please. The prices of industrial goods are uniform in both the urban and mountain areas.

For instance, if the price of a box of matches is set at one *chon* in Pyongyang, it is also priced at one *chon* in a village at the foot of Mt. Paekdu-san. In the past private traders sold a box of matches at one *chon* in Pyongyang, but two or three *chon* in mountain villages. Such practices have long since disappeared in our country.

It seems to me that no other country has nationwide uniform prices as we do. In other countries, commodity prices in

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mountain areas are higher than in urban areas. Therefore, there is a big difference between living conditions in urban and mountain areas. Since we make prices uniform, there is no great disparity between living conditions in the urban and the mountain areas of our country.

Commodities are also distributed evenly in our country. The central commercial bodies work out the national commodity supply plans. Commodities are sent to the provinces, provinces send them to the counties and counties distribute them to the shops. Moreover, when localities need more commodities, additional supplies are given to them.

Our commerce has also introduced the system of ordering commodities. Thus, when a citizen orders goods, the commercial body fulfils the order in a responsible manner.

The local power organs guide the commercial bodies so that they do their work satisfactorily in conformity with the requirements of the country's commercial system.

The local power organs also take charge of city management.

It is an important part of the work of the people's committees to repair promptly and maintain buildings and facilities, the common property of the state and the entire people. The proper management of the city is the only way we can make life convenient for the working people.

City management in our country is supported by the central and local budgets. Large-scale city management is part of the central budget and small-scale management comes under the local budget.

The same can be said of construction. Large construction projects such as factories and other enterprises, railways, roads and harbours are financed by the central budget, and smaller-scale construction by the local budget. A greater part of housing construction is carried on under local budgets.

The local power organs also guide education.

In our country there are both schools of nationwide significance and of local importance.

With regard to institutes of higher learning, there are universities and polytechnic, chemical, engineering, agricultural and medical colleges training people needed on a nationwide scale, and there are colleges training people needed locally.

Provinces have normal colleges, teacher training colleges and kindergarten teacher training colleges which supply their own needs The normal colleges train middle school teachers, the teacher training colleges primary school teachers and the kindergarten teacher training colleges train teachers for kindergartens. All the provinces also have agricultural colleges training cadres for agriculture and medical colleges training cadres for public health work. The colleges training officials needed by the provinces are responsibly guided and managed chiefly by provinces.

The county people's committees directly guide and manage middle schools, primary schools, kindergartens and nursery schools.

The people's committees undertake mainly school construction, the recommendation of students for further study, and the selection and allocation of teachers.

Schools conduct education in accordance with the uniform programme pursued by the relevant ministries But some subjects may be added according to local conditions and needs The people's committees guide schools at all levels so that they can correctly conduct education in accordance with the uniform programme.

The local power organs also take charge of public health affairs.

Our public health system is a system of free medical treatment. We pursue a policy of preventive medicine and have established the section doctor system to implement it successfully. Under this system each doctor takes charge of a residential quarter and carries out preventive measures Doctors always go

into their districts to carry out prophylactic measures and look after the health of the population.

In our country today every ri has a clinic and every county a hospital. During the Six-Year Plan, we will convert the county hospitals into general hospitals and the ri clinics into hospitals. We are also going to set up hospitals at the factories.

The local power organs directly execute all the public health policies of the Party and the Government.

They also give guidance to the local factories.

These factories mainly process local raw materials.

For instance, they manufacture their localities' fruit, vegetables, fish and specialities. Ingredients such as soy sauce, bean paste and cooking oil are produced at these factories for the local population.

Local factories also process raw materials from other localities.

These factories supply their products mainly to their own locality, but some of them are sent to urban areas and other localities.

As you can see, our local government bodies assume full responsibility for the life of the people. Therefore, it is not too much to say that they are servants of the people.

Whether the people's power organs work well or not is shown in the life of the people, and it is the people who are the judge of the work of the officials of the people's power organs.

Now let me tell you about the system and content of education in our country.

To build socialism successfully, it is necessary to develop the work of education and train able workers in large numbers. However excellent the social system may be, it cannot be consolidated, developed or defended without able workers.

So we are striving under the motto of getting all Party, all people and all army to study. It may safely be said that everyone in our country studies now.

In study, our cadres set living examples.

We have set every Saturday as a day of study for the cadres so that all of them can study regularly. In addition, they have the obligation to study at schools of various levels for one or six months a year, during which time they receive their regular salaries. We now have a higher Party school and a national economy institute in the centre, communist colleges in the provinces and Party schools in the counties. Provincial cadres and leading county functionaries go to the Higher Party School or the National Economy Institute. County cadres go to provincial communist colleges and ri cadres to county Party schools.

Moreover, leading provincial and county functionaries who are not capable enough attend one- or three-year courses at the Higher Party School or the National Economy Institute.

The content of cadre study courses is varied. Cadres take political, technical or management courses according to their needs. All conditions for study are ensured by the state.

In our country there are also schools for heads of workshops and workteams to raise their technical and business qualifications, and factories have schools for training skilled workers.

There are factory colleges, factory higher technical schools and correspondence and evening courses at universities and colleges. They form an education system under which the students study without leaving their jobs.

In addition, we have working people's middle schools.

If a backward country which has not gone through the stage of capitalism wants to make rapid progress it must raise the level of knowledge of its working people. Thanks to the state, all of our younger generation have finished middle school or above. But most people with the age between 45 and 50 and above were at a very low level because they had been unable to go to school before liberation. Unless their level was raised rapidly, it would have been impossible to carry on revolution and construction successfully or bring up the younger generation

well. However good an education the school gives the students, they will naturally lag behind if their parents have a bad influence on them at home.

Therefore, in the first stage we began by wiping out illiteracy and then gave the entire people general knowledge at the primary school level. Now, a working people's middle school has been set up in every ri, and work is under way to raise the level of general knowledge of the working people who did not get middle school education before up to middle school level. This work is progressing successfully.

Thus, by making all the people study, we have had great success in this field.

We pay particular attention to the education of the new generation.

I believe that through your inspection of our schools you are well acquainted with the school education system for children and young people. So I will not dwell on this.

Schools are found everywhere in our country and all the new generation are being educated free of charge. Appropriations for school education occupy a large proportion of our state budget. It is a very good thing, I believe, that expenditures for school education hold such a large proportion of the state budget.

Our schools teach the children and young people modern science and technology.

Without scientific and technical knowledge, it is impossible to run the state, economic and cultural organs well or make the country rich and powerful. So, we put forth a slogan calling on all pupils, students and other young people to acquire at least one technique, and we are conducting an extensive drive among them for learning technique.

As a result of this drive, signal success has been achieved in this field, too. In the past the middle school graduates had to serve an apprenticeship of one or one and a half years at factories to become skilled workers. But now they become skilled

workers soon after they enter factories. This enables us to keep up satisfactorily with the demands of our developing industry for skilled workers.

We attach the greatest importance to thoroughly establishing Juche in school education. This means conducting education with things Korean as the main content, not mechanically imitating other countries.

Because our people fell into dogmatism in the past, they committed many deviations.

In music, for example, the workers in the field of art leaned heavily towards Western music and paid little attention to developing our own national music. Music should always serve the people and be music that everybody can understand and sing. It is absolutely meaningless to develop art for art's sake.

We put strong emphasis on developing art which serves the people, art that the people like. We make it a rule to write songs everyone can sing with lyrics that everyone can understand. I do not know whether you have seen the revolutionary opera *Sea of Blood*. That opera is in a style the people like.

Literature, too, must not be literature for literature's sake but literature for educating the people. To this end, works that are popular in style, easily understandable and instructive must be written

In the past, in order to brag about their knowledge, some people wrote things hard for others to understand. They thought that writing things incomprehensible to others demonstrated their wisdom and superiority. But such people are actually ignorant and such writings are not superior. A piece of writing can be considered good only when it is understood by everyone. So we always stress writing as many works as possible which are easy for the people to understand.

Juche must be established in science and technology, too, so that we can start using home resources effectively.

Today our scientists and technicians are directing their ef-

forts to research into such scientific and technical problems as making better use of smokeless coal which is abundant in our country, turning limestone to good account and breeding seeds suitable to our climate and other natural conditions. We regard scientists and technicians who know how to make good use of all our resources as true scientists and technicians guided by Juche.

The establishment of Juche in our scientific research has made our industry independent, essentially relying on domestic raw materials. So we can say that it is very stable.

We encourage our students to set their hearts on scientific research to promote the utilization of our natural resources, and educate them to think and act on their own initiative at all times.

As we are friends, let me tell you an amusing story. When, in the past, our people were not receiving education based on Juche they lacked confidence in volleyball and football games with Europeans, saying they stood no chance against those tall people. But, after receiving Juche-based education, our people became confident that they could outmatch tall people and began to work out tactics for defeating them. Victory in a sports game depends largely on who works out better tactics. Even those of low stature can win games if they work out good tactics.

Because we have educated our students to use their brains and hold fast to their stand, great miracles are being wrought in many domains now.

In school education we also attach great importance to combining classroom teaching with productive work.

Only when this is done can we train large numbers of able personnel familiar with advanced science and technology. If students are made to confine themselves to books, staying aloof from productive work, they will become mere "bookworms" divorced from reality. We combine education closely with productive work so that the students will not follow such a course.

Today, by taking an active part in productive work our students not only consolidate what they have learned but successfully engage in research on the production of machinery and equipment suited to our own conditions. Students of mining and metallurgy go out to the mines, actually work in them and strive to invent machinery suitable to the conditions there. Students of agriculture go to the rural districts, work with the farmers and participate in designing machinery adapted to the farming conditions of our country. Foreign farm machinery does not suit our conditions. We bought rice-transplanting machines from Japan, Italy and France and tried them, but none of them fitted our conditions. Now, students at our agricultural colleges tax their brains to design and manufacture efficient farm machinery suitable to the conditions of our country.

Combining education with productive work is very important in opposing dogmatism and establishing Juche.

In the past we sent many students to study in other countries. When they returned, they wanted to copy those countries mechanically. But the students who studied at home and directly participated in productive work found out at first hand that what was written in foreign books did not fit the conditions of our country. So they would not mechanically copy things foreign

Students who studied at home and took a direct part in productive work are far more useful than those who studied abroad. Thus, combining education with productive work is of great importance in establishing Juche among the children and youth and bringing them up to render better service to the people.

While combining education with productive work, our schools show deep interests in educating and encouraging the students to love work.

All the wealth of society is created by work. Therefore, it is important to educate everyone to love work. When we carry out mechanization and automation by accelerating the technical rev-

olution, the working people will be freed from difficult and back-breaking work and the problem of eliminating distinctions between mental and physical labour will be solved. But work itself will never disappear. If dislike for work is fostered among people, the wealth of society cannot be increased and in the long run the country will fall into ruin.

This is why we have led the schools to apply themselves tirelessly to educating the students to love work. As a result, our school children and young people now hate those who shirk work and feel it the greatest honour to work harder for the country and people. This is very good, I believe.

We are also concerned about educating school children and young people to value and look after the common property of the state and society.

It is a very important question in socialist society to educate people to take loving care of the common property. However vast the scale of our production and construction may be, it is of no use if we handle things roughly and spoil and waste them.

We have seen to it that the schools widely organize "Hygienic Guards", "Greening Guards" and the like so that our younger generation will become accustomed from their childhood to value and look after the common property of the state and society. They have launched an extensive "good conduct movement" to benefit the state and society.

Our students now have a very strong sense of responsibility towards state and social property. When desks and chairs are broken, they immediately repair them themselves and are active in keeping the classrooms tidy.

This is what is said to have happened at a middle school. A correspondent going around the classrooms began nonchalantly sharpening his pencil to jot down something. At once a student ran to him and cupped his hands under the pencil to catch the shavings. The correspondent was deeply touched by this.

In order to educate and train students properly, the teachers

themselves must possess advanced science and technology and be revolutionized and working-classized.

Teachers are not simply wage earners who teach students, but revolutionaries bringing up future builders of socialism. For this reason, we are working hard to help teachers acquire advanced science and technology and to revolutionize and working-classize them.

Next, you asked me if I had anything to say to the Korean citizens in Japan and the Japanese people. I will say a few words on this.

The Korean citizens in Japan are now successfully waging joint struggles with the Japanese people. Of course, there are exclusive fields of action for the Korean citizens in Japan. But, because they live on Japanese soil, they cannot be successful in struggle unless they wage it jointly with the Japanese people. We are very glad to note that the Korean citizens in Japan are successfully waging joint struggles with the Japanese people, and wish them greater successes in the future.

The struggle of the people and progressive democrats against the reactionaries tailing behind US imperialism and against the revival of Japanese militarism is mounting ever higher in Japan. This struggle supports the Korean people and the Korean citizens in Japan.

In Japan today progressive democrats friendly towards the Korean people and the people sympathizing with and supporting us are constantly increasing in number. We are greatly pleased by this. In particular, the "Dietmen's League for Promotion of Japan-Korea Friendship" intended for better relations with the Korean people was recently formed in Japan, and there is an extensive movement to develop friendly relations with our country. This is a great support and encouragement to the struggle of the Korean citizens in Japan.

Since the Japanese people and the broad democratic forces in Japan are growing and strengthening daily, the Korean citi-

zens in Japan are by no means alone in their struggle. Their struggle is linked to the just struggle of the Japanese people against imperialism and the forces of reaction. Hence our conviction of the certain victory of their struggle, in spite of the manifold hindrances which the Japanese reactionary forces throw in their way.

The Korean citizens in Japan will continue their successful joint struggle with the Japanese people in order to win greater victories in defending their democratic, national rights, in developing national education and in promoting the independent, peaceful reunification of our fatherland.

I think that if the Korean citizens in Japan and the broad democratic forces of Japan prove good in united struggle, state relations between the DPRK and Japan can be improved in the not too distant future and good-neighbour relations between the two countries will be attained earlier. If, to begin with, at least visits of individuals take place between the two countries, friendly relations between our people and the Japanese people will develop.

I consider the current visit to our country of the delegation of the Japan Association of Socialist Mayors headed by Mr. Asukata Ichio to be a precondition and good sign pointing to the further development of friendly relations between our two peoples in the future.

According to reports, the Japanese foreign ministry said it would receive an art troupe if Korea was willing to send one. This too, in my view, is a good sign in the development of friendly relations between the two countries.

Also, the fact that the congratulatory group of Koreans in Japan headed by Li Gye Baek, Vice-Chairman of the Central Standing Committee of Chongryon, won the right to return to Japan after visiting their homeland marks a big advance in the furtherance of relations between Korea and Japan.

A Korean saying goes, "Well begun is half done." Now that

visits of personages between Korea and Japan have begun, mutual visits and contacts will become more frequent. This will deepen the understanding between the two peoples. Therefore, prospects for the development of relations between our two countries are quite bright and there are no grounds for pessimism.

We hope that on your return home you will convey our greetings to Chairman Han Dok Su and other leading cadres of Chongryon and all the Korean citizens in Japan.

On behalf of the Korean people I also ask you to give my regards to Chairman Narita, Vice-Chairman Akamatsu and other leaders of the Japan Socialist Party, Mr. Kuno Chuji, Mr. Minobe and all the scholars and progressives who are sympathetic to Korea, and to the entire Japanese people.

I also ask you to remember me to Mr. Goto, Managing Editor of the *Asahi Shimbun*, who visited our country last year, and to the progressive men of the Japanese press who have shown much sympathy for our country in their writing.

Now, I will touch upon some matters concerning strengthening friendship and solidarity between the Korean and Japanese peoples.

I think it is a very good thing that you have proposed establishing fraternal relations between cities of our country and Japan, especially cities with socialist mayors. This will help the Korean and Japanese peoples understand each other better and produce good results in strengthening their friendship and solidarity.

We fully approve of your proposal. It is advisable to have detailed consultations with the Society for Cultural Relations with Foreign Countries to decide which cities should be selected.

It is also good that you have proposed opening economic, cultural and technical exchanges between the regions of our country and Japan.

We hear that Japan now buys iron ore from Australia and even from South America because she does not possess any. Our

country has tremendous deposits of iron ore. Our geological prospecting workers recently discovered new deposits estimated at thousands of millions of tons in our western area and northern inland districts. Abundant deposits of iron ore are found everywhere in our country, which means that we can sell Japan as much as she wants.

At the same time, there are a lot of things we want to buy from Japan. As cotton does not grow well in our country, we produce fibres from reeds, wood and limestone. We plan to produce synthetic fibre from petroleum in the future. But we ourselves cannot yet produce the equipment for chemical fibre factories. We hope to import such equipment from Japan. But as we have no trade relations with Japan as yet, we have to import it from such faraway countries as France and Britain.

You have asked me if exchange in the sphere of fishing is possible. My answer is in the affirmative to that, too. Our country now obtains nearly one million tons of seafood annually—no small quantity in view of the size of our population. But we are not good at processing seafood. Therefore, we consider that it would be advantageous to conduct technical exchange with Japan in the field of processing aquatic products.

You advanced the view that the two countries might exchange experience in agriculture, and I find that very interesting. Our two countries have many things to learn from each other in this field, too. It is not a bad thing to exchange experience in agriculture and learn from each other.

Interchange may be conducted between our schools and Japanese schools, too. It is a good thing, not a bad thing, to establish friendly relations between schools so that students may contact each other and exchange letters and classwork.

You said you would invite the Chairman of the Pyongyang City People's Committee to Japan. We are not against this. I think it is good that you invite him so as to promote friendship and solidarity between the Korean and Japanese peoples.

As he is not here now, I cannot speak for him, but I think he will not be against it either.

Finally, let me say a few words about the reversion of Okinawa.

We have not studied this matter deeply. You are better informed about it than we are.

We doubt that Okinawa will in actuality be returned to the Japanese people. While the US imperialists keep their military bases on Okinawa and use them for a war of aggression, it, in fact, does not mean the return of Okinawa to the Japanese people and the reversion is of no significance.

We are inclined to consider that the return of Okinawa to Japan by the US imperialists is most likely a conjuring trick invented by Sato and Nixon in their closed-door talks to deceive the Japanese and other Asian peoples. As you know, Nixon is now using a whole box of tricks to deceive the people of the world. In our view, Nixon and Sato seem to be engaging in some kind of conjury on the reversion of Okinawa, too. It remains to be seen what exactly they are up to.

We consider that there should be a genuine restoration of Okinawa to the Japanese people in whose interests it should be used. On no account must it be used as a military base for aggression by the US imperialists in their policy of making Asians fight Asians.

We invariably support the stand and struggle of the Japanese people, because it is they who are most familiar with the problems of Japan. With regard to the question of Okinawa, too, we actively support your struggle against the reversion hoax of the US imperialists and the Japanese reactionaries.

This outlines what I wanted to say in answer to your questions.

TALK WITH JOURNALISTS OF THE US NEWSPAPER NEW YORK TIMES

May 26, 1972

I am sure you have seen for yourselves and sensed how the Korean people feel towards the United States here in our country.

They do not have good sentiments towards the United States. Our people have a very strong anti-US feeling. Probably this feeling has offended you Americans.

It is natural that the Korean people should have ill feeling towards the United States. US imperialism is the aggressor which has invaded our country. No people can have warm feelings towards an aggressor who invades their country, can they?

reduced to ashes and tens of thousands of people were killed in cold blood. The same was true in Wonsan, Hamhung and other cities. Even our villages were all burned to ashes in the last days of the war.

Having suffered such severe damage at the hands of the US imperialists, the Korean people cannot have good sentiments towards the United States.

Even after the armistice the United States continued an unfriendly attitude towards our country.

The Armistice Agreement stipulated that a political conference of the two sides would be held immediately after the war to settle the Korean question by peaceful means. However, the United States did not abide by this stipulation. As a result, our country is still in a state of ceasefire today. No peace agreement has been concluded and there has been no progress in the work of solving the Korean question peacefully. Therefore, I always tell our people that generations are changing, but the target of our struggle remains the same.

The US authorities have persisted in their aggressive acts against our country in violation of the Armistice Agreement. Even after the *Pueblo* incident, the United States continued its aerial reconnaissance of our country. This places our country in a perpetual de facto state of war.

As this state of war has continued since the ceasefire, we have been forced to step up building our defence and invest heavily in it. Frankly speaking, this enormous expenditure on defence building has, to a certain extent, slowed down the rise in the living standards of the people. Our people also blame the United States for this.

Thus, they have strong anti-US feelings because they suffered great damage at the hands of the US imperialists during the Fatherland Liberation War. Moreover, they have ill feeling towards the United States because the US imperialists have been unfriendly towards our country and continued aggressive acts

in violation of the Armistice Agreement even in the postwar period.

The tense situation forces us to continue to step up preparations against war. We make no secret of this. Who can guarantee that the US imperialists will not attack our country again? Neither you nor I, nor anyone else. So we are openly making war preparations in order to defend the country from enemy aggression.

The most important thing in our war preparations is to teach all our people to hate US imperialism. Otherwise, we will not be able to defeat the US imperialists who boast of their technological superiority.

Therefore, we are intensifying ideological education, to imbue the people with hatred for US imperialism. I think this is quite a natural and correct thing for us to do. We do not have to stop the anti-US education we have been giving to our people or conceal the fact that we are educating them in anti-US ideas just because you come to our country, do we?

You must understand our people's ill feeling towards the United States.

You have just said that you hope this abnormal situation between our country and the United States will improve. So do we. We do not want to have many enemies.

Now, let me answer the questions you have raised.

To begin with, I would like to refer to the question of relations between the Democratic People's Republic of Korea and the United States.

You asked me what positive measures should be taken to end the abnormal state of affairs between Korea and the United States. In our opinion this is a very simple matter.

The relations between our country and the United States depend entirely on the attitude of the US government. If the US government changes its policy towards us, we will do the same towards the United States.

If the US government wants to improve its relations with our country, it must, first of all, stop interfering in our internal affairs so that the Koreans can settle the question of Korean reunification independently. It is nearly 20 years now since the Armistice Agreement was signed, so why should US troops continue to occupy south Korea under the guise of "United Nations forces"? Some people say that the US troops are staying on in south Korea to protect it because we might "invade the south". This is a lie. We have declared time and again that we have no intention of invading the south. It is high time to put an end to the situation where US troops play policemen in south Korea under the emblem of "United Nations forces".

The US government disquiets us not only because it has stationed its armed forces in south Korea but because it is helping to revive Japanese militarism. We are not happy about the US assistance in the revival of Japanese militarism. We can see from the joint communique of Nixon and Sato of 1969 that the United States is bringing Japanese militarism into south Korea as its agent for aggression against Korea and instigating it to interfere in our country's internal affairs. Following the announcement of the communique, Sato openly declared that he would interfere in Korea's internal affairs. This is another aspect of the unfriendly attitude of the US government towards our country.

On the Korean question in the United Nations, the US government is also taking an unwarranted attitude towards our country. It advocates inviting south Korea to the United Nations unconditionally while attaching conditions to inviting us It alleges that we do not respect the United Nations Charter, though we have never violated or ignored it. The United States insists that it will allow us to attend the UN General Assembly only if we recognize the unlawful resolutions on the Korean question which were adopted at the United Nations. How can we go to the UN General Assembly under this condition? Furthermore,

the United States has been instigating the "United Nations Commission for the Unification and Rehabilitation of Korea" to give annual reports full of lies and fabrications about our country, thus continuing hostile propaganda against us.

Because the US government has invariably pursued such an unfriendly policy towards our country, there has been no improvement in Korea-US relations and the reunification of our country has been greatly hampered.

If the United States wants to improve its relations with our country, it must stop interfering in our internal affairs so that the Koreans can reunify their country by themselves, withdraw its troops disguised as "UN forces" and dissolve the "United Nations Commission for the Unification and Rehabilitation of Korea". It must not further the partition of the Korean nation but support its reunion. As long as the United States keeps our country divided, our attitude towards the United States will not change. The Korean peninsula is now cut into two parts. If the US troops pull out of south Korea and foreign interference stops, the Koreans will be able to find a common denominator which will enable them to reunify their country by themselves. Furthermore, if the US troops get out of south Korea, I think the Koreans will come to terms easily and our people's anti-US feeling will gradually lessen.

When US President Nixon looked at the Great Wall during his visit to China he said that the barriers dividing nations should be pulled down. If the US government wants to put these words into practice, it must begin with Korea. These days Nixon says he is going to improve relations with China as well as with the Soviet Union. Why, then, should the United States keep its military bases in south Korea? The United States has argued that it keeps them there to prevent communist expansion. Now that it is going to have good relations with the big socialist countries, we consider that there is no excuse for keeping military bases in south Korea. So the United States must quit south

Korea at once, dismantling all its military bases and withdrawing its aggressor army.

If the United States wants to better its relations with our country, it must also stop helping to revive Japanese militarism and stop bringing it into south Korea. The United States is trying to substitute Japanese militarism for itself in its invasion of south Korea and reduce south Korea to a commodity market and appendage of Japan. This is an unfriendly, hostile act against our people. The US government must discontinue such unfriendly acts against our country.

If the US government gives up its unfriendly acts against our country and stops obstructing our reunification, then there will be no reason why we should be antagonistic to the United States. So we say that the relations between the Democratic People's Republic of Korea and the United States depend not on us, but entirely on the attitude of the US government. We will closely watch the policy the United States adopts towards our country in the future.

The US government should improve relations not only with big countries, but with small countries as well. We do not think improved US relations with big countries will greatly influence its relations with small countries. In fact, the US government has not yet changed its attitude in its relations with small countries.

In the joint communique of the People's Republic of China and the United States, the latter declared that it supports the relaxation of tension on the Korean peninsula and contact between north and south Korea. As for what influence the United States will exert on south Korea in this respect, we must wait and see. If the United States does not support the relaxation of tension in Korea and north-south contact in the future, it will mean that it uttered empty words under pressure.

Our people remember what Nixon said in China. What interests me most is that he said that no barriers should divide the

people of the world. We are watching how he is going to put his words into practice.

You asked me if moves such as an exchange of journalists and cultural interchange to promote mutual understanding and reduce tension were possible between the two countries even before the US troops are withdrawn from south Korea. I will answer this briefly.

Frankly, we cannot understand what interests Americans to come to our country. We do not think our people would bring back anything interesting if they visited the United States in the present situation.

We do not mean that we want to shut the door to relations with the United States. But we consider that as long as the fundamental problem between the two countries remains unsolved, an exchange of journalists or cultural interchange would be of little significance.

I am told you feel uncomfortable in our country. If other Americans come here they will return with the same uncomfortable feeling.

We are now intensifying anti-US education among our younger generation so that they will not forget their enemy. As long as the US government's hostile policy towards our country remains unchanged, our policy towards the United States will not change either. Therefore, Americans will not get good impressions here until the fundamental problem between the two countries is solved. If many Americans come to our country in the future, and go back with uncomfortable feelings, we think such visits will not be beneficial.

If the US government discards its hostile policy towards our country, our anti-US feelings may be lessened. Only then will visits and interchange between the two countries be fruitful and interesting to both sides.

Since the US government does not alter its hostile policy towards our country, mutual visits had better be limited in scope,

as at present. We do not think that there is no need at all for our journalists to visit the United States. In our opinion, it is necessary for them to go there in order to let the American people hear our true voice, because at present you only hear the voice of the south Korean rulers. We welcome visits by American journalists and democratic figures on a limited scale. Such visits and interchange will help promote understanding between the two peoples.

In the light of our experience in receiving you now, I think it would be a good idea for us to explain to future American visitors how we are conducting anti-US education among our people before they start going on visits.

Next I want to refer to a few points concerning Korea's reunification.

You asked me whether it would be possible to deal with the Korean question in the same way as the Viet Nam question was dealt with at the Geneva Conference in 1954. We think we need not deal with the Korean question in such a way.

The Korean question must be solved by the Koreans themselves on the principle of national self-determination without any foreign interference. Only then can the reunification of our country be achieved peacefully.

The Soviet Union and China actively support this programme for national reunification. The Soviet and Chinese governments have issued statements on many occasions supporting our country's programme for peaceful reunification.

A prerequisite for the independent settlement of the question of Korean reunification without foreign interference is that the US troops must be withdrawn from south Korea. No war will break out in Korea after they are withdrawn.

When the US troops pull out of south Korea and the people of north and south Korea are united, we can reunify Korea quickly and frustrate the Japanese militarists' manoeuvres to

invade Korea again. The Korean people can achieve national unity by their own efforts.

As you know, we are now having contacts with south Korea through the preliminary talks between the north and south Korean Red Cross organizations. Of course, as for the prospects and the results of the talks, we will have to wait and see. But we think that if we Koreans sit down at a conference table, we can find ways for removing the distrust and misunderstanding between the north and the south and attaining national unity.

The north and south Koreans are cold to each other, and distrust and misunderstand each other in many respects because they have had no opportunity to sit down together in one place.

We think distrust and misunderstanding exist between the north and south Koreans on a number of questions.

We believe that the south Korean rulers may invade the northern half of the Republic with the support of the United States and the Japanese militarist forces. The south Korean rulers labour under the misunderstanding that we might attack south Korea. They are also raising "anti-communist" clamours, asserting that we are trying to "communize" south Korea. Owing to such distrust and misunderstanding, no progress has yet been made on the question of Korean reunification.

We believe that if we Koreans sit down together, we will be able to remove distrust and misunderstanding and find common denominators and, on this basis, achieve national unity.

These days the south Korean rulers are clamouring for the independent reunification of the country, advocating, though in words only, "self-help", "self-reliance", "self-defence". If we interpret this favourably, we can see some similarity with the idea of independence, self-reliance and self-defence which we advocate. If we find and develop these common denominators one by one, it will be possible to reach an agreement on achieving national unity.

The difference in social systems in the north and the south

must not be made an obstacle to the promotion of national unity and the attainment of reunification.

At present, some foreign journalists say there are two opposite poles in Korea—north Korea's communist system and south Korea's capitalist system—and these two poles cannot be integrated. Once these two poles touch, they say, war will break out again in Korea.

We do not regard south Korea as a capitalist society in the true sense of the word. There are no big monopoly capitalists in south Korea, only a few comprador capitalists. Of course, we are against comprador capitalists. We oppose them because they obstruct the development of the national economy. But we are not against national capitalists and small and medium entrepreneurs. We can say that south Korean society is no more than a society which is just starting to take the road of capitalism, or is inclined to capitalism, or is being influenced by capitalism, or believes in capitalism, or something like that. This does not mean that there is no difference in the social systems in the north and the south.

It is true that there are now differences in ideas and beliefs between the north and the south. But we think we must transcend these differences for the sake of national unity. We have no intention of imposing our socialist system on south Korea Unless its present rulers try to force us to replace our socialist system with another, there is no reason why we cannot achieve national unity.

If the north and the south establish the principle of each not imposing its social system on the other, then there is no need to fight each other with arms. If neither side is forced to give up its political beliefs, is there any reason for the people of one and the same nation to fight?

It is possible that a country may have different political systems and that people with different beliefs may live together in one country. What political system should be established in

south Korea is a matter for the south Korean people themselves to decide. So we consider that even after the country is reunified the present social systems in the north and the south may continue as they are, and people who have different beliefs may live together in Korea. What is needed here is mutual trust and respect.

We always maintain that our homeland should be reunified independently and peacefully without foreign interference. Furthermore, we hold that the unity of the entire nation should be achieved under conditions in which both sides trust and respect each other, despite the different social systems in the north and the south.

In a speech on August 6 last year, we pointed out that we were ready to have contacts even with the Democratic Republican Party, the ruling party of south Korea. This stems from our desire to create mutual respect.

If the north and the south join hands and make tireless efforts, we will be able to eliminate mutual misunderstanding and distrust gradually and achieve the reunification of the country independently on a democratic basis. Our country cannot be reunified if outside forces meddle in the Korean question. Foreigners cannot rid our nation of distrust and misunderstanding. That is why we oppose interference of any outside force in the Korean question.

We believe that if there is no outside interference in the Korean question and foreign countries give up obstructionist machinations, the reunification of Korea will definitely be attained the way we are advocating, though it may take time.

You said you want to know what practical measures we are taking to bring about the independent, peaceful reunification of the country. I will outline them briefly.

We are calling for mail exchange and mutual visits and trade and economic cooperation as well between the north and the south.

As for mutual visits of personages we think it also desirable for our deputies to the Supreme People's Assembly and the "national assemblymen" of south Korea to visit each other. If "national assemblymen" of south Korea come to the northern half of the Republic and our deputies to the Supreme People's Assembly go to south Korea and if they sit down at one table and exchange views openheartedly through such mutual visits, it will be a good thing for the reunification of our homeland. It is by no means a bad thing. We want contacts not only with south Korean "national assemblymen" but also with a broad spectrum of political and public figures in south Korea. In other words, we hold that all the political parties and social organizations of north and south Korea should get together in a political consultative conference and exchange wide-ranging views on the question of national reunification.

Furthermore, we have proposed that, if it is impossible to reunify the country at once, a Confederation be set up. This means forming a Supreme National Council with representatives of the north and south Korean governments, mainly for consulting and coordinating on matters concerning the national interests of Korea, while maintaining the present different political systems in north and south Korea as they are for the time being.

We have also more than once proposed economic intercourse between the north and the south, proceeding from the immediate interests of the nation. If economic cooperation materializes and we give south Korea what we have in sufficiency and receive what it has in plenty, the economy of both parts will develop more rapidly.

We have also proposed cultural and scientific exchanges between the north and the south.

In addition, we maintain that a peace agreement should be concluded between the north and the south, stipulating that each side refrains from the use of arms against the other and that the numerical strength of the armed forces of the two sides be re-

duced after the withdrawal of all foreign troops from south Korea. The present arms race between the north and the south is having a considerable effect on the living standards of the people.

We are doing all we can to remove the tension and bring about contact and exchange between the north and the south. True, if mutual visits are made, capitalist influence may be brought into the northern half of the Republic. But we are not in the least afraid of this. We keep our door open so that south Koreans can visit the northern half of the Republic at any time. It is not we but the south Korean rulers who are keeping the door closed. Everything will be settled easily once the south Korean authorities open their door.

But the south Korean rulers are very much afraid to do this. Having declared a "state of emergency" under the pretext of a fictitious "threat of aggression from the north", they are playing all sorts of tricks while the preliminary talks are going on between the north and south Korean Red Cross organizations. They are ruthlessly suppressing those south Koreans who desire reunification. They are even prohibiting "national assemblymen" of the Democratic Republican Party from talking with their New Democratic Party colleagues in the puppet national assembly. The south Korean rulers are now raising an "anti-communist" clamour, holding "anti-communist rallies" and "meetings for the annihilation of communism and against espionage activities" in all parts of south Korea.

We have no intention of invading south Korea, nor do we want to impose our socialist system on south Korea. Nevertheless, the south Korean rulers have declared a "state of emergency" under the pretext of a "threat of aggression from the north" and are intensifying their fascist repression of the south Korean people and clamouring for "reunification through the annihilation of communism". This is not an attitude helpful to national reunification. Their hullabaloo is designed not to bring about a close relationship between the north and the south but to es-

trange them further. It is intended to prevent the country from being reunified. By "reunification through the annihilation of communism", the south Korean rulers mean to achieve reunification after wiping out the Communists in Korea. In the final analysis, this means that they oppose reunification and want to perpetuate the partition. We do not know who is the author of this racket in south Korea. But we think it betrays their weakness.

We will continue our patient efforts to bring about contacts and dialogue between the north and the south.

We are at present gravely concerned about south Korea's economic subjection to Japan. If the south Korean rulers keep the door between the north and the south closed, Japanese capital will penetrate south Korea, and the latter will become completely subjected to Japan economically.

We do not forget the history of the Japanese imperialists' invasion of our country. They began worming their way into Korea in 1894 under the pretext of protecting Japanese residents in Korea. From then on our country began falling into the status of a Japanese colony.

Japanese militarism revived under the wing of US imperialism is now scheming to invade Korea again. We read an article in the Japanese magazine *World Weekly* which quoted Japanese militarist leaders as saying that Korea should not be reunified for at least a quarter of a century. This shows that the Japanese militarists are watching for a chance to invade Korea again.

We have to heighten our vigilance against the Japanese militarists. We are fully informing all our people, and especially the younger generation, on the history of Japanese militarist aggression in our country so that they will not forget it but keep sharp vigilance against Japanese militarism.

Our country has not yet been reunified, but remains divided into north and south because of the reactionary manoeuvres of the south Korean rulers and the obstructionist activities of outside forces.

Therefore, we think that all the north and south Korean people must unite firmly and struggle actively against the outside forces that hamper the reunification of our country.

You asked me about the relations between our country and Japan. I will touch on this briefly now.

The improvement of relations between our country and Japan depends on the attitude the Japanese government takes.

Good-neighbour relations have not been established up to this date solely because the Japanese government has followed a hostile policy towards our country. The successive cabinets of the Japanese government, from Yoshida to Sato, including those of Kishi and Ikeda, have adopted an unfriendly attitude and a hostile policy towards our country.

If the Japanese government gives up its hostile policy towards our country and wants to establish friendly relations with us, we are fully ready to respond.

However, as long as the Japanese government pursues a hostile policy and takes an unfriendly attitude towards our country, we do not want to improve relations between the two countries by resorting to sycophant diplomacy. The smaller a country is, the greater self-respect its people must have. If the peoples of small countries do not even have self-respect, they cannot survive. We do not want to go to Heaven by turning our right cheek after we have been hit on the left. We have no thought of throwing our self-respect away.

You asked me what is the best gift I could give to our people. It is the reunification of the country.

The Korean people are one people of the same blood. But they are divided because their country is not yet reunified. This is our greatest grief.

At present, because of an artificial barrier in our country many people live separated from their families and relatives for a long time, unable to meet each other, write letters or hear about each other's fate, alive or dead. The artificial barrier which

causes this tragic state of affairs must be pulled down as soon as possible and our homeland reunified without fail.

Once our country is reunified, our people will lead as good a life as others and will live peacefully with the different peoples of the world according to the principles of equality and mutual respect.

From ancient times, the Korean people have been industrious and resourceful. Our people went through suffering and were long subjected to national humiliation, oppression and exploitation and to aggression by foreign invaders. So, if our people in north and south Korea join efforts and strive to build a new society, we will be able to live as well as others and our country will become a rich, powerful independent and sovereign state.

Our country has a fairly large population and abundant natural resources. We have trained a large number of competent cadres of our own. Immediately after liberation we had few able technicians. The Japanese imperialists would not pass technology on to the Koreans and even prevented them from learning it. They were so adamant about preventing us Koreans from acquiring technical knowledge that before liberation there were only four Korean locomotive drivers. They allowed only Japanese to be locomotive drivers and at best, let Koreans be stokers. In order not to repeat this bitter experience, we devoted great efforts after liberation to training our own cadres. As a result, we have half a million technicians and specialists today. On the basis of the successes already achieved in training cadres, we are planning to increase their number to one million during the Six-Year Plan.

As you see, we have a big population, rich natural resources and a huge army of technicians. So when the country is reunified, we can build a rich and strong country and guarantee our people affluence in a short time.

I will give a brief answer to your question on what was the most difficult of our struggles.

We have had so many difficult struggles that I cannot tell you about them all here and now.

To my mind, one of the most difficult was the struggle to rise up out of the debris after the war.

In the three-year war, every town and village was razed to the ground and every industrial enterprise reduced to ashes. When the war ended, we had to build towns, villages and factories on the ruins where nothing was left and rapidly stabilize the people's living conditions. But we were able to overcome these difficulties and trials and win a great victory in economic construction because we were firmly united with the masses of the people.

We have basically overcome the difficulties in socialist construction. Now the lives of our people are stable. It is true that their living standards are not yet very high. But no one in our country is hungry or in rags or wandering about without a job. Our people all work, receive free education and free medical care. This is a great victory won by our people in socialist construction.

We have laid the basis for rapidly developing the national economy and raising the people's living standards in the future.

As I have already mentioned, we have a huge army of competent cadres, we have built the foundations of a powerful heavy industry centred around the engineering industry and constructed a large number of modern light industrial factories. In particular, we have developed a strong, independent industry which is supplied by our own raw materials. We have laid the basis for the further development of stockbreeding.

All this firmly guarantees the more rapid development of our economy and a bigger rise in the people's standard of living.

Thank you for your attention. Now let me conclude my answers to your questions.

We oppose the reactionary policies of the US government but we do not oppose the American people. We want to have many good friends in the United States.

TALK TO A DELEGATION OF THE JAPAN CLEAN GOVERNMENT PARTY

June 1, 1972

On behalf of the Government of the Republic and the entire Korean people, I would like to warmly welcome you, a delegation of the Japan Clean Government Party led by Chairman Takeiri, to our country.

Your visit to our country greatly contributes to strengthening the friendship and solidarity between the peoples of Korea and Japan. Your visit is also a great encouragement to the Korean people in their struggle for the peaceful reunification of the country and the building of socialism

I guess that through the conversation you must have gained information on the situation of our country. We have also received your information

Today I would like to talk to you about some questions

To begin with, I am going to dwell on the question of Korea's reunification.

You said you wanted to see the question of Korea's reunification solved peacefully by the Korean people themselves free from foreign interference. Independent, peaceful reunification is the unanimous desire of the entire people of north and south Korea. Our country is contiguous to Japan, so I think that the question of Korea's reunification will greatly concern you. Our country's

reunification question focusses the attention of the world people as well as the Asian peoples. We are firmly convinced that we will certainly achieve independent, peaceful reunification with the support and encouragement of the world people and many friends in our neighbourhood.

For a long time in the past the north and south Korean people had no contact between them. Then, as a great change took place in the international situation, contacts began between the north and south Korean Red Cross organizations a short time ago in accordance with the earnest desire of our people to remove as soon as possible the separation between the north and the south. It is true that the contacts have not yet produced a notable result, but they have brightened the prospects for the peaceful settlement of the reunification question. Therefore, we do not think the contacts meaningless.

Because the northern half of the Republic and south Korea have long been separated, there exist many problems over which they distrust and misunderstand each other. This distrust and misunderstanding should be removed in the interests of peaceful reunification.

Both the north and the south harbour distrust and misunderstanding on various matters. We think that the south Korean rulers may invade the northern half of the Republic with the backing of the US imperialist and Japanese militarist forces, while the south Korean rulers are under a misapprehension that we will "invade the south". This is the most fundamental aspect of the distrust and misunderstanding between the north and the south. We have declared time and again that we have no intention to invade the south. Nevertheless, the south Korean rulers continue to talk noisily about "invasion from the north".

The distrust and misunderstanding between the north and the south are a result of the over 25-year-long separation. Therefore, we do not think that they will be removed in a day. It is our belief, however, that because contacts have already begun be-

tween the two zones, we will be able to remove the distrust and misunderstanding through the contacts and come to an agreement to realize the desire for independent, peaceful reunification.

In addition to the distrust and misunderstanding, the north and the south have different social systems and religious beliefs. However, we think that because we are of the same nation, we can overcome the difference in the social systems and religious beliefs and achieve national unity.

We advocate removing the distrust and misunderstanding between the north and the south and achieving great national unity, irrespective of the difference in social systems and religious beliefs.

The most important thing in this connection is to thoroughly reject interference from outside Now the south Korean rulers are trying to have US imperialist troops stay in south Korea, and this is beyond our comprehension.

There is no ground for the US imperialist troops to remain in south Korea. The US imperialists say that the "United Nations forces" should discharge the police duty in south Korea to prevent the Koreans from fighting among themselves. They also say that the US troops are staying in south Korea in order to "protect" the people there. These are no more than absurd pretexts.

It is nearly 20 years since the Armistice Agreement was signed in our country The Armistice Agreement stipulates for the convocation of a political conference of representatives of both sides within three months of the conclusion of the agreement so as to settle the Korean question by peaceful means. But even now the US imperialists are occupying south Korea by force of arms.

We have declared time and again that we have no intention of invading the south, and the north and the south have got along peacefully without war over the past 20 years. Then why

should the US imperialist troops remain in south Korea till now in the name of "UN forces" and why should the south Korean rulers detain the US army in south Korea? There is no ground whatever for the US troops to stay in south Korea.

Making a tour of the Great Wall during his China visit, US President Nixon said that no barriers should separate the world people. If Nixon was earnest when he said so, US troops in "MP" helmets should not stay in south Korea, should they? If he wants to put his words into practice, he should withdraw the US troops from south Korea and remove the Military Demarcation Line which divides our country into the north and the south.

In the past the US imperialists argued that they needed to retain their military bases in south Korea for the purpose of preventing communist expansion in Asia. But these days they profess they are improving relations with the Soviet Union as well as with China. Why, then, do they need a half of Korea as their military base? They need not.

The question is that the US imperialists have not yet given up their aggressive ambition. If they have discarded it, they ought to withdraw their troops from south Korea.

The US imperialist occupation of south Korea is the main obstacle to the peaceful reunification of Korea. Were it not for their occupation of south Korea, it would be expedient for the Koreans to contact with each other and much easier for them to negotiate.

Like the US imperialists, the Japanese militarists are also offering an obstacle to the peaceful reunification of our country. I am sorry to criticize your government. After he, together with Nixon, issued the joint communique in 1969, Sato made the aggressive statement that if a war should break out in Korea, he could not look on it with indifference. This is indeed a flagrant interference in our country.

Now the US imperialists and Japanese militarists are instigating the south Korean rulers and reactionaries to aggravate

the division of our nation. This act of theirs also constitutes an obstacle to our country's peaceful reunification. If another country wants to take a correct position on the Korean question, it should proceed from the desire to expedite the reunification instead of furthering the division of our nation. It is true that we cannot expect this from the imperialists and militarists. You and we are a force fighting against the reactionaries, and so must fight against foreign interference in Korea's reunification question.

The Korean question must be solved by the Koreans themselves. The outside forces cannot remove the distrust and misunderstanding within our nation and help the Koreans to understand each other. Therefore, we consider that the north and south Korean people should discuss matters with perseverance to remove distrust and misunderstanding and find common denominators for understanding and, on this basis, strive for unity.

We believe that if we have heart-to-heart talks with the south Korean rulers and personalities of all strata, we will be able to find a community of views to achieve the unity of the whole nation.

It is a long time since we put forward the principles of political independence, economic self-support and national self-defence, which we carry into effect in all fields of state activity. These days the south Korean rulers keep silence about independence, while they are raising the watchwords "self-help", "self-reliance", "self-defence". This is very gratifying. We suppose that here we can find some common denominators. If we help each other within the framework of our nation and stand on our feet, free of outside interference, if the south Korean rulers do not "defend themselves" against communism and we also do not take self-defence measures against the south Korean reactionary forces' northward invasion, but all of us defend ourselves against foreign aggression, we can find common denominators here and achieve national unity.

The most important thing in achieving great national unity is that we do not try to impose our socialist system on the south Korean side and they also refrain from trying to force the capitalist system upon us, and that we conclude a peace agreement binding the north and the south to avoid military action against each other. If both sides achieve great national unity despite the differences in political views, religious beliefs and social systems while keeping the present political systems in the north and the south as they are, no arms race nor war will be necessary and we will be able to peacefully reunify the country by the united forces of the whole nation.

We have a high opinion of the preliminary talks between the north and the south Korean Red Cross organizations now going on at Panmunjom. Both sides have not yet reached an understanding at the talks, but I believe that they will soon find common denominators for understanding and make advance in the talks. If, thanks to the north-south Red Cross talks, the traffic of families, relatives and friends is realized and the scope of the traffic is broadened in the future, the understanding between the north and the south will be deepened and more common denominators for great national unity will be found.

History knows instances of a country, a nation, being unified by transcending the difference in social systems and religious beliefs. Therefore, I think, if both sides, out of a desire for unity, refrain from imposing their intentions on the other and strive to remove the distrust and misunderstanding between them, we can attain national unity.

You asked if we were ready to have a talk with the present south Korean rulers. This question was made clear in our speech of August 6 last year. In order to achieve great national unity, we should avoid asking about each other's past and hold to the principle of trusting and respecting each other. Otherwise, we cannot solve the question. So, in our speech of August 6 last year, we pointed out that we were ready to have contact even

with the Democratic Republican Party, the ruling party of south Korea. This stemmed from our belief that if we sit together and frankly discuss the matter without asking about the past, we will be able to remove the distrust and misunderstanding between the north and the south.

You asked if the "ROK-US mutual defence pact" and the "ROK-Japan treaty" are an obstacle to our great national unity and if their abrogation is prerequisite to the political negotiations between the north and the south. In my opinion, at present they offer no obstacle to our national unity. As for the future, let it take care of itself.

The "ROK-US mutual defence pact" is a military pact. And the "ROK-Japan treaty" was signed not as a military pact, but it has revealed a military character since the joint communique of Sato and Nixon was published in 1969. But in solving the question of our country's reunification greater importance is attached to what we should do to attain the unity of the whole nation than to whether or not these treaties will be abrogated. I think that if it is agreed to achieve national unity and reunify the country by the Koreans themselves free from outside interference, the abrogation of military pacts will not offer any serious problem. If military pacts become an obstacle to the unity of the Korean people, north and south Korea will voluntarily raise the question of doing away with them. We also have military alliances with the Soviet Union and China. If they stand in the way of our great national unity and our country's peaceful reunification, we will repeal them. Therefore, the abolition of military treaties is not yet a big problem, but the achievement of great national unity presents itself as the prime objective. Once national unity is achieved, the military pacts will possibly become unnecessary.

Now, I will refer briefly to the question of the United Nations.

In our talk with the newsmen of the *Yomiuri Shimbun*, we

said that the United Nations should revoke its illegal "resolutions" on the Korean question or, otherwise, it might adopt a correct policy towards Korea and thus make the existing illegal "resolutions" null and void. You asked what the correct policy specifically meant. We are still studying it. This question is related to our tactics towards the United Nations.

We are going to put forward appropriate tactics depending on how the Korean question is handled in the United Nations. The most important thing is to clear the UN of everything that is detrimental to the attainment of national unity by the Koreans themselves. We maintain in particular that the United Nations should not be discriminative to any one side in dealing with the Korean question.

You said it would be possible to consider the illegal UN "resolutions" on Korea nullified in case the UN unconditionally invites delegates of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea to attend the UN debate on the Korean question, just as the illegal "resolutions" of the UN on the People's Republic of China were practically nullified when this Republic regained its position in the United Nations. But we do not think so.

The Chinese question in the UN differs a little in nature from that of our country.

From the first, the People's Republic of China should have held its legal position in the United Nations. But owing to the machination of US imperialism, the Chiang Kai-shek clique usurped the position in the UN which belonged to the People's Republic of China. Therefore, the admission of the People's Republic of China to the UN means the restoration of its position. In other words, the People's Republic of China restored its position in the UN which had been usurped by another. So we could say the question of China in the UN was a comparatively easy matter to deal with.

Following the announcement of Nixon's plan to visit China last year, many countries recognized the People's Republic of

China. This expedited the restoration of the Chinese position in the United Nations.

But the case of our country differs somewhat from that of China.

Originally, our country is not a member state of the United Nations. South Korea holds no UN membership either; it has its observer there. Needless to say, this is entirely due to the US imperialists' machination and their policy of discrimination against the Democratic People's Republic of Korea. Even if we are invited unconditionally in the future to attend a session of the UN General Assembly, this will not mean our admission to the UN. We will only attend it to make speeches in the capacity of an observer. So, even if we are unconditionally invited and attend a UN General Assembly session, the illegal UN "resolutions" on Korea cannot be nullified.

The south Korean authorities are now campaigning to have the UN debate on the Korean question postponed Over the past year they carried on this campaign, and they are still knocking about conducting it. They are trying to have the UN debate on the Korean question put off on the pretext that now when the Koreans are holding Red Cross talks it will be unnecessary to debate the Korean question in the United Nations. Let us wait and see whether the UN debate on the Korean question will be postponed or not. The handling of the Korean question in the UN will be accompanied by many complex problems

We are watching whether or not the UN will take up the Korean question.

If the UN invites delegates of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea with no strings attached, we will send our delegates to the UN General Assembly

We are grateful to you for the campaign you are conducting to induce the Japanese government to demand that the UN General Assembly unconditionally invite our delegates to its session.

Further, you asked about the influence the Soviet-US agreement on the restriction of strategic weapons will exert on the Asian countries and about our views on the Soviet-US summit conference. I will make brief remarks on them.

As we said already in our speech on August 6 last year, the United States is now going downhill and is in deep political and economic distress. Frankly speaking, now it has no money to carry on arms race against other countries. Nixon's visits to China and the Soviet Union were directly connected with this situation.

When Japanese journalists visited our country last year they asked us about the object of Nixon's visit to the Soviet Union. I told them that I thought Nixon was visiting the Soviet Union to give his promise to discontinue arms race for lack of money. We still think so, and consider that Nixon went to the Soviet Union this time to accomplish his purpose. In the last analysis, Nixon is going around to do mendicant diplomacy, because the US imperialists are hard put to it out of money and find arms race to their disadvantage in many respects.

Without money, how can the US imperialists carry on arms race with other countries? So we suppose that Nixon might have concluded an agreement on the restriction of strategic weapons with the Soviet Union under the plausible excuse of armament reduction.

What kind of influence this agreement will exert on the Asian countries, needs further study. We have not yet made a close study of the joint communique issued by the Soviet Union and the United States. I am going to study it further in the future.

You asked if the Democratic People's Republic of Korea has no intention to have nuclear weapons no matter how the international situation may change. This is a clear question.

We have no intention to produce nuclear weapons. Frankly

speaking, as our country is small, it affords us no place to test a nuclear weapon even if we make one.

We do not need nuclear weapons nor do we think we are in need of them. What should we have them for? Even those countries which now have nuclear weapons seem to be worried because they find it difficult to use them. Nuclear weapons are something people cannot eat.

We claim to completely abolish nuclear weapons. We believe your stand is probably the same as ours.

Further, you asked about the influence the visit of Salisbury, a journalist of *The New York Times*, to our country may exert on the future relations between the Democratic People's Republic of Korea and the United States. I will briefly remark on it.

Salisbury's visit to our country took almost ten years to realize. Every year he wrote us expressing his desire to visit our country, but each time we refused his request. This year, we for the first time permitted him to enter our country.

The most important question raised recently by Salisbury in our country concerned the prospects of the relations between the Democratic People's Republic of Korea and the United States

As we fully explained in our talk with Salisbury, the relations between our country and the United States depend entirely on the attitude of the US government. We will decide on our policy towards the United States according as whether or not the US government follows a hostile policy towards our country. If it does not interfere in our country's reunification question, withdraws its troops stationed in south Korea under the signboard of "UN forces", does not help revive Japanese militarism and does not take an unwarranted attitude towards our country in the UN, that is to say, if the United States renounces its hostile policy towards our country and does not interfere with our people's independent solution of the country's reunification question, the relations between our country and the United States can be improved. As long as the US government pursues

a hostile policy towards our country as at present, our people will never regard the United States with good will.

I think that our talk with Salisbury must have been published in *The New York Times*. Before long it will also appear in our newspapers. A study of it will give you a better idea of our position on the relations between the Democratic People's Republic of Korea and the United States.

Now let me touch on the relations between Korea and Japan.

Japanese journalists wrote that Japan and Korea are adjacent yet distant countries. I think they are right. The fact that Korea and Japan are adjacent yet distant countries, is connected with the question of Korea's peaceful reunification and with the question of normalizing the relations between Korea and Japan.

You asked about the prospects of the question of normalizing the relations between Korea and Japan. But at present it is difficult to estimate them. The prospects of the Korea-Japan relations depend, above all, on the struggle of the Japanese people against the unfriendly attitude of the Japanese government towards our country.

Among the Japanese people the struggle to strengthen friendship between the Korean and Japanese peoples is now gradually mounting. The Japan Clean Government Party, the Socialist Party and other political parties, progressive personalities and broad sections of people in Japan are fighting against the Japanese government's unfriendly attitude towards our country for better relations with it. Particularly since last autumn, many distinguished persons and delegations of political parties of Japan have visited our country to promote friendship. I consider this is very gratifying.

No one can deny the influence which all movements of the Japanese people to normalize the Korea-Japan relations and promote friendship between the two peoples will exert on the Japanese government's attitude towards our country. Even if the Japanese government does not completely change its succes-

sive hostile policy towards our country, it will find it impossible to utterly ignore the Japanese people's demand for improvement in the relations between the two countries and will be obliged to meet their demand little by little even for form's sake.

As you know, until recently the Japanese government did not permit home-visiting delegations of Chongryon (the General Association of Korean Residents in Japan) to return to Japan. But this time it allowed, for the first time, the reentry of a congratulatory group of Koreans in Japan. This is a valuable fruit won through a positive struggle of you and progressive personalities, men of the press and different sections of people in Japan.

If in the future the Japanese people put pressure upon the Japanese government through the continued strengthening of the movement to promote friendship between the peoples of Korea and Japan, the two countries' relations will improve step by step.

We want to normalize the relations between Korea and Japan, but have no intention to do mendicant diplomacy with the Japanese government for that purpose. Even without mendicant diplomacy on our part, if the struggle and pressure of the Japanese people grow stronger, the Japanese government will find it unavoidable to change its attitude somewhat towards our country.

We consider that the Japanese government's attitude towards our country is also related to whether it will continue in future, as at present, to pursue its policy of toeing the US line. We should wait and see what will become of the Japanese government's policy of tailing after the US imperialists after the Sato Cabinet. This is connected with many questions

It seems to us now that some people among the Japanese ruling circles also think that if they blindly drag at the tail of the US, they will get nothing from it but, rather, may heavily suffer from it. They will also think that if the Japanese govern-

a hostile policy towards our country as at present, our people will never regard the United States with good will.

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It seems to us now that some people among the Japanese ruling circles also think that if they blindly drag at the tail of the US, they will get nothing from it but, rather, may heavily suffer from it. They will also think that if the Japanese govern-

ment, despite the mighty struggle of the people, follows the US imperialists and persists in the policy of keeping Korea divided, it may lead to uniting all the people of north and south Korea in a fight against Japan.

The question of normalizing the future relations between Korea and Japan depends also on the Korean people themselves. If the north and south Korean people work well and reunify the country in a peaceful way, the Japanese government will be unable to persist in its unfriendly attitude towards our reunified country, whoever may come into power in Japan in the future.

I think it is right to analyse the prospects of the question of normalizing the relations between Korea and Japan from this angle in general.

You proposed to realize extensive cultural interchange and exchange of journalists and the like for the present to normalize the relations between Korea and Japan. We are ready to do so at any time. If only the Japanese government opens the door, we can agree either to cultural interchange, exchange of journalists or to any other form of interchange. The question depends on the attitude of the Japanese government.

You said that you were fighting to completely abolish all the military bases of US imperialism in Okinawa. Your struggle is justified. Even if Okinawa is returned to Japan, this will be meaningless as long as the US imperialists maintain and use the military bases in Okinawa.

It is urgently needed for peace in Japan and Asia that the Japanese people fight for the abrogation of the "Japan-US security pact" and the abolition of all the military bases of US imperialism in Japan. We actively support this struggle of the Japanese people.

TALK WITH A JOURNALIST OF THE US NEWSPAPER WASHINGTON POST

June 21, 1972

I am sorry to have kept you waiting for a long time. If I had received you before leaving for a locality on my official trip, I would have met you a little earlier. But I had to leave suddenly. And arriving at my destination, I found it impossible to come back early; my stay there was delayed. This forced me to keep you waiting. I hope you would understand this.

I received your questionaire.

Apparently you want me to avoid repeating what was discussed at the previous press interviews So do I. Therefore, I cannot but outline beforehand what we are going to do in the future. In the final analysis, this means that you American journalists come to our country and get yourselves informed of all the policies that we are going to adopt in the future.

You asked about the conclusion of a peace agreement between the north and south of our country, the reduction of the armed forces of each side and relations between the two parts of Korea. I will answer them.

As you know, the north and south of our country, divided for a long time, had not made any contact with each other. The first contact was made last year through the preliminary talks

between the representatives of their respective Red Cross organizations.

But afterwards the south Korean authorities declared a "state of emergency", thus aggravating tension in our country. If they want to behave properly, the south Korean authorities must endeavour to ease the tension, since the north and the south have got in touch with each other after many years of separation. However, they have rather increased the tension by declaring the "state of emergency".

The urgent matter facing our country today is how to alleviate the tension.

We are making great efforts to relax the tension in our country. We consider that the tension between the north and south must be mitigated so that the south Korean authorities will clear up misunderstanding towards us and cease to threaten, blackmail and repress the south Korean people, inventing a lie about our "invasion of the south".

If the south Korean authorities are willing to consult with us, we will advance a number of new proposals.

In our opinion, in order to soften the tension, both sides, by mutual agreement, can first withdraw their armed personnel and military installations from the Demilitarized Zone. At present, both sides are keeping large numbers of armed personnel and military installations in the Demilitarized Zone. Once these are withdrawn, the situation will be improved.

We also consider it necessary to reduce the armed forces of north and south in order to ease the tension. Now our country is in a situation where war will break out once the two sides pull the trigger. I think that to ease this atmosphere of war, each side may reduce its armed forces by 150,000 by agreement. It would be all right to cut them even by 200,000. This will help avoid the danger of war.

These are new proposals. You are informed of these which were not made public before.

Next, to remove the tension from our country, the north and south must conclude a peace agreement guaranteeing that the country will be reunified in a peaceful way and that each side will refrain from force of arms against the other. Though we have proposed more than once the conclusion of a peace agreement between the north and south, it has not yet been concluded because the south Korean authorities do not agree.

When a peace agreement is concluded, US troops must get out of south Korea. After its conclusion the danger of war will be removed from our country, and, consequently, there will be no more pretext for them to remain in south Korea.

We maintain that after the withdrawal of US troops from south Korea the armed forces of the north and south be reduced to 100,000 or less respectively. When this is materialized as a result of the conclusion of the peace agreement, our country's peaceful reunification will be more firmly guaranteed.

In our opinion, if necessary, civilian armed forces can be reduced in the future, under an agreement between the two sides.

These are steps we are going to take for the country's peaceful reunification.

These problems cannot be solved through talks between the Red Cross organizations of the north and south. They should be settled through meetings between the north and south Korean authorities or between our deputies to the Supreme People's Assembly and the "national assemblymen" of south Korea.

Furthermore, to clear up distrust and misunderstanding between the north and south, it is necessary to realize mutual visits and contacts between the representatives of the political parties, social organizations and political figures and to hold bilateral or multilateral negotiations. By doing this, we can narrow down the differences of opinion and solve specific problems for the country's peaceful reunification.

Our country must necessarily be reunified by the Korean people themselves on the principles of national self-determination

and democracy, without foreign interference. The country can be reunified peacefully by means of establishing a unified government through an all-Korea election or by instituting a Confederation as a transitional step.

The election we are advocating is a free election without any foreign interference. The unified government should be set up through a democratic election that is held on the principle of universal, equal and direct suffrage. But if it is impossible to establish the unified government right now, it will be all right to achieve reunification through a Confederation, keeping the present social systems of the north and south as they are. We think that in this way we can materialize the country's reunification step by step.

In order to solve all problems for the country's peaceful reunification, it is essential to bring about the great unity of the nation, transcending the differences in social system, political views and religious beliefs. Therefore, an atmosphere of mutual understanding, respect and trust must be created, through the elimination of misunderstanding and distrust between the north and south.

This is our position.

You asked me whether we are willing to meet the south Korean rulers in order to discuss these proposals for the country's reunification. If they want, we are ready to meet them at any time.

You also asked what would be the advantage if the north and south reduced their respective armed forces to 100,000. If we cut our armed forces to 100,000 or less when US imperialism, Japanese militarism and the south Korean reactionaries will no longer menace our country's security, it is obvious that our people will gain a great advantage from it.

Last year our nation's defence spendings accounted for 31.1 per cent of the state budget expenditure. This year we curtailed the defence spendings to 17 per cent though the south Korean authorities declared the "state of emergency". Because we have

nothing to do with the "state of emergency" declared in south Korea. Once the north and south reduce their respective armed forces to 100,000 or less, our defence spendings will comprise only a small percentage of the state budget expenditure.

Since ours is an industrial country, the total state revenue is very high. Therefore, if we curtail the defence spendings in the state budget expenditure to five to seven per cent and allot the rest of the money to the people's living, they will enjoy a greater benefit than at present.

The reduction of the armed forces will enable us not only to appropriate more state funds for the elevation of the people's living standards but also draw great profits in many other aspects. It will make it possible to discharge large numbers of young and middle-aged people from the army and draw them in the labour front so that more factories and dwelling houses will be built and more natural resources exploited. This benefit will be much greater than the benefit to be gained from the curtailment of the defence spendings for the betterment of the people's living conditions.

We still have much work to do. We hope you will help us by discouraging the US government from threatening us.

As for the economic interchange between the north and south you asked about, my answer will be very brief, for I have referred to it on many other occasions.

I believe realizing economic interchange between the north and south will be very beneficial to the north and south Korean people's lives. It is particularly essential for the improvement of south Korea's economic situation.

The northern half of the Republic has a more developed heavy industry than south Korea and we have natural resources in plenty. Therefore, if north and south Korea work together and conduct adequate interchange in the economic spheres and make proper use of our developed heavy industry and abundant natural resources, it will be possible to solve many problems. When this

economic interchange is conducted, it will be particularly advantageous to south Korea's small and medium entrepreneurs, because we will supply them with raw materials, thus helping them overcome the shortage of raw materials and the marketing difficulties they are now undergoing.

The economic interchange and collaboration between the north and south will make our country rich and strong.

Now, as to your question about the north-south Red Cross talks. For the present the preliminary talks between the north and south Korean Red Cross organizations are going on satisfactorily. After their debate on the items of agenda for the full-dress talks, they have recently reached a complete agreement. Both sides treasure this door, narrow as it is, opened between the north and south after a long period of separation. We believe that the full-dress talks between the representatives of the Red Cross organizations of the north and south will be held very soon. The entire Korean people in the north and south are waiting for this. The prospects of the talks are very bright though they are progressing slowly.

Concerning our declared readiness to abrogate our military pacts with foreign countries if the south Korean authorities do the same, you asked me whether this is realizable at the stage of negotiations between the north and south or after the signing of the peace agreement or at the stage of the Confederation. This question must be discussed by both sides. It cannot be solved at present; it will be settled through the future consultations between both sides.

As regards which military pact we should have or should not after the country's peaceful reunification, it will be discussed then. However, we think that all the treaties which obstruct peaceful reunification can be abrogated even now, if the two sides agree.

Your next question is how to improve relations between Korea and the United States. Let me say a few words.

In order to ameliorate Korea-US relations, the US government must stop meddling in Korea's internal affairs. It must not encourage our country's division but must help its reunification. In order not to hamper our country's reunification, the United States must first pull its troops out of south Korea and refrain from threatening our security. Then, we think the relations between our country and the United States will be improved soon.

Because I have no time, I will not refer to the long history of the US aggression against Korea.

During World War II when the American people joined in the common front against fascism and fought fascist Germany and Japanese imperialism, they were praised and supported by the Korean people. Afterwards, Korea-US relations worsened because the United States interfered in Korea's internal affairs and pursued hostile, aggressive policies towards the DPRK.

If the United States gives up its hostile, aggressive policies towards our country and does not obstruct Korea's reunification, we are ready to change our US policy even now.

We Korean people distinguish the American people from the US imperialists. Still now the Korean people are promoting friendship with the American people and they will do in the future.

You asked about our journalists' visit to the United States We are not against it. If there is a proper condition, we will not object to dispatching our journalists to the United States and their meeting its officials.

You asked whether our country will establish trade and economic relations with the United States in case US troops get out of south Korea and tension is removed from the Korean peninsula. In that case we will not object to establishing trade and economic relations with the United States, we will welcome this.

The prospects of trade between our country and Japan also

depend on the Japanese side. If they want to conduct trade with us, we will do.

Next, you asked me how we appraise relations between Japan and the United States and their contradictions and which of them is a greater menace to Korea.

In the Political Programme of the DPRK Government we set it as a principle to promote friendly relations with all countries which want to establish relations with us on the basis of equality and mutual benefit and harbour good intentions to us. However, we cannot have good intentions towards the countries which are antagonistic to us, treat us on an unequal footing and pursue aggressive policies towards us.

We have an old saying that you must show a good will to a man of good will and treat the enemy as enemy. It means that you must receive a visitor with a knife in his hand with a knife and entertain a visitor who brings you rice cake with rice cake.

We will show a good intention to anybody who does the same. But we cannot show kindness to those who are going to invade us, can we?

Our relations with the United States and Japan depend on what policies the US and Japanese governments will pursue towards our country. If they adopt a hostile policy, we will do the same. If they give it up, we will form good relations with them in good faith. At present, they are carrying on a hostile policy towards our country. Therefore, we consider that both US imperialism and revived Japanese militarism are dangerous to us.

As for the contradictions between the United States and Japan, we think the Americans and Japanese themselves know about them better than we do.

As regards your question about our attitude towards the United Nations, we consider that this organization must endeavour to assist the Korean people in their struggle to achieve the country's peaceful reunification. Today when the north and south Korean people unanimously want the country's reunification and

their tendency towards the peaceful reunification is more rapidly increasing than ever, the UN should take measures conducive to Korea's reunification.

The UN must first cancel all its resolutions which obstruct Korea's peaceful reunification, that is, all the resolutions which encourage Korea's partition. The UN must dissolve the "UN Commission for the Unification and Rehabilitation of Korea" which stands in the way of Korea's peaceful reunification and take the cap of "UN forces" off the US army stationed in south Korea under the UN signboard. The Korean people want peaceful reunification and the north and south are getting in touch with each other and striving to effect free travels; and they are assuring that they will not fight each other. Why should the "UNCURK" exist and should US troops perform the police duty in south Korea under the signboard of "UN forces"? All these obstacles must be removed.

Korea must be reunified on the principle of national self-determination and no one must interfere in Korea's internal affairs.

You asked what the UN can do besides the dissolution of the "UNCURK", to help Korea's reunification. In our opinion, it must first stop taking any action that obstructs the reunification. For example, it must refrain from its policy of discrimination towards the two parts of Korea and its interference in Korea's domestic affairs.

You asked about our views on Nixon's visits to Peking and Moscow. We will only watch how he will put into effect his statements and the joint communiques made public during his visits to Peking and Moscow.

Next, you asked me whether it is necessary to form a new community of Asian socialist countries. We think it is unnecessary to form such a community because they are well united. The Asian socialist countries of Viet Nam, China and Korea are closely welded together. So are the Cambodian and Laotian

peoples with the Vietnamese, Chinese and Korean peoples. Now these countries are firmly united, supporting and encouraging each other; they are forming a common front in their anti-imperialist struggle. Therefore, they do not need a new community.

You inquired about the significance of the Juche idea in the context of the changing international situation.

The Juche idea is related to the Korean revolution. This idea means that the Koreans should solve all problems arising in their revolutionary struggle and work of construction by using their own brains and basically by their own efforts in conformity with their country's specific conditions and that the Koreans should hold themselves responsible for the Korean revolution. We are not going to force the Juche idea on any other people or export it or obtain others' approval for this idea.

Lastly, you asked if I have anything to say to the American people. Please tell them that we hope the American people will unite with the Korean people and the peace-loving people of the world and join in the common struggle against aggressive war so that all the peoples of the world may live in peace. Any people, whether they are Koreans or Americans, always want to promote friendship. Our people have an ill feeling towards the US imperialists and reactionary US government but we do not towards the American people.

I am glad that you came to visit our country, and I am grateful to you for patiently waiting for a long time to have an interview with me.

ON SOME PROBLEMS OF OUR PARTY'S JUCHE IDEA AND THE GOVERNMENT OF THE REPUBLIC'S INTERNAL AND EXTERNAL POLICIES

Answers to the Questions Raised by Journalists of the Japanese Newspaper *Mainichi Shimbun*

September 17, 1972

I warmly welcome your visit to our country

I have received your questionaire through the Central Committee of the Journalists' Union of Korea.

Now, I would like to give brief answers to your questions

1. SOME PROBLEMS INVOLVED IN THE IDEA OF JUCHE

You requested me to tell how the Juche idea originated

In a nutshell, the idea of Juche means that the masters of the revolution and the work of construction are the masses of the people and that they are also the motive force of the revolution and the work of construction. In other words, one is re-

sponsible for one's own destiny and one has also the capacity for hewing out one's own destiny.

We are not the author of this idea. Every Marxist-Leninist has this idea. I have just laid a special emphasis on this idea.

How keenly the necessity of establishing Juche is felt and how much emphasis is laid on it may depend on people and on the social and historical backgrounds of a country.

In the course of my struggle for the freedom and independence of our country I came to a firm conviction that we must and could work out our own destiny with our own efforts. Our struggle was hard and complex. We had to solve everything by ourselves and use our own heads to formulate the lines and methods of struggle as well.

Naturally, therefore, we met indescribable difficulties and had to pass through harsh trials. Through this, however, we obtained absolutely unique experience and lessons. We realized that the simple and ordinary working masses, if only they were brought to revolutionary awareness, could display a really great force and carry out the revolution by their own efforts in any adverse and arduous conditions.

Our situation was also extremely difficult right after liberation. We had had no experience of running the state or managing the economy. Our country was very backward, and it was divided into north and south. We could look nowhere for a ready-made solution to the problem of building a new country in this complex situation.

The first problem that confronted us was whether to take the road to capitalism or the road to socialism, so that we might quickly free ourselves from our wretched situation.

The road to capitalism meant preserving exploitation and oppression. This would not only prevent us from rousing the broad masses of the proletariat to the building of a new country, but would also involve the great danger of our country being again

subordinated by another imperialist power. It was evident, therefore, that we could not follow the road to capitalism.

However, we could not take the road to socialism immediately. Socialism was what we needed. Subjective desire alone could not obtain it. We were faced with the immediate tasks of the democratic revolution which must be solved before going over to socialism. So we could not just imitate the socialist system

From the outset we had to use our own brains to determine a political system that would serve the interests of the working class and other sectors of the working masses and that would be able to rally the broad masses of the people. We also had to determine the way to effect democratic social reforms that might suit the specific conditions of our country. Accordingly, for agrarian reform, we went to farm villages and stayed many days with the peasants, exploring ways and means that would suit our rural situation.

Our experience showed that endeavouring to solve our problems in this way to suit our actual conditions was much better than mechanically copying foreign ways. Our post-liberation struggle for the building of a new country validated our Juche idea and increased our faith in it.

Then, we waged the harsh three-year war against the US imperialists, and our country was reduced to ashes. This rendered our task of building socialism even more difficult.

The US imperialists destroyed not only the dwelling houses and property of our workers and peasants but also the economy of the small and medium entrepreneurs and the rich peasants as well. During their socialist revolutions, other nations eliminated the capitalist and rich peasant classes by expropriating them, but we had no need to do so. Immediately after liberation we consistently pursued the policy of encouraging the economy of the small and medium entrepreneurs, who could fight side by side with the workers and the peasants against imperialism.

Moreover, it was necessary for us to protect national capital as at that stage our industry was not fully developed. However, since the economy of the small and medium capitalists and the rich peasants was utterly destroyed by the war, our Government had no need to take the trouble of reviving it.

Now that everything had been ravaged by the war, there was little difference between the small and medium entrepreneurs and the urban craftsmen. Everyone became a proletarian, so to speak. They had to pool their efforts and go along the road to socialism, this was the only way for them to subsist. In order to shore up their completely devastated agriculture, the peasants, too, had to do the same.

Proceeding from the Marxist-Leninist proposition that cooperation, even when it is based on primitive techniques, is far superior to private farming and considering the actual fact that our peasants badly needed to work together to free themselves from their plight, we adopted an original method—boldly pushing ahead with the socialist transformation of agriculture before industrialization. As regards the small and medium entrepreneurs and rich peasants we also chose a unique way—drawing them into the cooperatives and remoulding them on socialist lines because there was no necessity to expropriate them.

Again experience justified our Party's line of solving all problems in the interests of our people and in conformity with the specific conditions of our country without recourse to any ready-made formula or proposition.

Through this course we have been more deeply convinced that the correct stand and attitude to maintain in revolution and construction is to settle all problems in the interests of our people and in conformity with the specific conditions of our country, believing in and relying on our own strength with the consciousness as the masters of the revolution.

Our revolution has traversed and is traversing a very complicated and difficult road. Whenever we were confronted

with difficulties and ordeals, we maintained the attitude of a master towards the revolution and thereby achieved glorious victories. This process made our conviction still more unshakable—a conviction that only by firmly relying on the Juche idea can one thoroughly adhere to the revolutionary stand of the working class and creatively apply Marxism-Leninism to the realities of one's country.

You asked me whether you may understand that the Juche idea is embodied as independence in politics, self-reliance in the economy and self-defence in national defence. Your understanding is quite correct.

Establishing Juche means taking the attitude of a master towards the revolution and construction. Since the masters of the revolution and construction are the masses of the people, they should take a responsible attitude of a master towards the revolution and construction The attitude of a master finds expression in an independent and creative stand.

Revolution and construction are a work for the masses of the people, a work that has to be carried out by them alone. Therefore, the transformation of nature and society demands their independent position and creative activity.

Based on the interests of our people and on the interests of our revolution, our Party has always maintained a firm independent stand in mapping out all policies and lines through its own efforts and responsibly carrying out the revolution and construction on the principle of self-reliance Our Party has always been able to win victories because it believed in the strength of the people and gave full play to their revolutionary zeal and creative activity, thus encouraging them to realize themselves all potentialities and reserves and solve all problems arising in the revolution and construction to suit our true realities

Adhering to the stand of master in the revolution and construction and enhancing the role as master are integrated con-

cepts with different aspects. You may say that the independent stand is concerned with defence of the rights of the master and discharging the responsibility as such, whereas the creative stand concerns the development of the role of the people, the masters, in remaking nature and reconstructing society. In other words, the independent stand is the fundamental stand which we must maintain in the revolution and construction, and the creative stand is the fundamental method that we must apply in transforming nature and society.

To adhere to the independent stand it is most important that we fully guarantee independence in politics.

Independence is what keeps man alive. If he loses independence in society, he cannot be called a man; he differs little from an animal. We might say that socio-political life is more valuable to a man than physical life. He is a social being. If he is forsaken by society and deprived of political independence, though he seems alive, he is virtually dead as social human being. That is why the revolutionaries deem it far more honourable to die in the fight for freedom than to keep themselves alive in slavery.

Ignoring independence is tantamount to ignoring man himself. Who likes to live shackled to others? Why did people fight to overthrow the feudal system in former days and why are the working class fighting against the capitalist system today? Needless to say, working people wanted to extricate themselves from feudal slavery just as they want to free themselves from capitalist exploitation and oppression. We are fighting against imperialism in order to liberate our nation completely from its yoke and enable it to enjoy freedom as a sovereign nation. In a word, all the revolutionary struggles aim to attain freedom from either class or national subjugation; they are struggles of the people in defence of their independence. Our struggle for the building of socialism and communism, too, is, in the long run, to enable the people to extricate themselves from many forms of subjugation

and lead independent and creative lives as masters of nature and society.

In order to become the master of its own destiny, a nation must have an independent government and firmly guarantee political independence. This is why the Juche idea should first be embodied as the principle of independence in politics.

To guarantee solid independence in politics, there must be a special guiding idea and a capacity for formulating all policies and lines solely in the interests of one's people and in conformity with the specific conditions of one's country, according to one's own judgment. The government that acts under pressure from or instructions of others cannot be called a genuine people's government responsible for the destiny of the people. A country with this sort of government cannot be regarded as an independent, sovereign state.

The principle of independence in politics demands complete *equality and mutual respect among all nations. It opposes both* subjugating others and being subjugated by others A nation that subjugates others can never be free itself.

In strengthening the independence of the country, it is essential to strengthen self-reliance in the economy along with political independence. Without self-reliance in the economy, it is impossible to meet the people's growing material demands and materially guarantee them a real role as master of the state and society. Economic dependence on others cannot guarantee political independence and without independent economic power, it is impossible to carry through the line of self-defence in national defence.

Self-defence and self-protection are intrinsic to the nature of man. A country must also have the means to defend itself. The *line of self-defence in national defence is an essential requirement* of an independent and sovereign state While there are still imperialist aggressors, the state that has no defence power of its own to protect its sovereignty against the internal and external

enemies is, in fact, not a fully independent and sovereign state.

Our Party's consistent line of independence in politics, self-reliance in the economy and self-defence in national defence has long since been proved correct and vital by our people through their revolutionary practices.

Next, I am going to say a few words about your question as to what we stress as an embodiment of the Juche idea in our present domestic policy.

Embodying the Juche idea means powerfully stepping up revolution and construction from an independent and creative stand.

The most urgent problem facing us at present in embodying the Juche idea in the Korean revolution is that of bringing about the independent, peaceful reunification of our country.

Our people have been fighting for a long time to rid themselves of the yoke of imperialism but our national sovereignty is still being trampled underfoot by foreign aggressors in one half of our territory. Nothing is more urgent for our people today than driving out foreign aggressors and establishing national sovereignty throughout our country.

The south Korean rulers have been hampering the independent, peaceful reunification of the country for nearly 30 years pursuing the policy of dependence on outside forces. Dependence on outside forces is the road to national ruin. This is a serious lesson our people have drawn for themselves from a long history of national suffering; it is also a reality we are now clearly perceiving through the misfortunes and pains of the south Korean people under the US imperialist occupation. Our immediate task is to see that all the people in north and south Korea fight against outside forces in the spirit of independence and self-reliance and rise in the forceful struggle for the independent, peaceful reunification of the country. Achieving this reunification is the most important work in embodying the Juche idea in the Korean revolution today.

The central task before us now to implement the Juche idea in the northern half of the Republic is to free our people from tough labour by dynamically pushing ahead with the three major tasks of the technical revolution.

Our people freed from exploitation and oppression, have now the important task of emancipating themselves from arduous work.

Labour holds the most important place in people's social life. Eliminating fundamental distinctions that exist in work conditions and freeing the people from tough labour will be of great significance in making their lives more independent and creative.

In order to emancipate the people from backbreaking labour, it is imperative to push ahead with the three major tasks of the technical revolution. The three tasks we propose are designed to narrow down the distinctions between light and heavy labour and between agricultural and industrial work and to free our women from the heavy burdens of household chores by fully developing techniques by our own efforts. When they are carried out completely, arduous labour in town and country will be largely removed and the class difference in work between the working class and the peasantry be eliminated.

We proposed the three major tasks of the technical revolution as our goal in emancipating our people from arduous labour; we did this instead of merely referring in general terms to the development of heavy industry or light industry. This clearly testifies to our Party's consistent standpoint that economic construction or technical revolution should not be designed for its own sake but should serve as the means to provide the people with fruitful lives as the masters of the state and society. Attaching the greatest importance to people in every respect and serving them—this is precisely the requirement of the Juche idea

Next, you asked me to tell about the education of our youth and children based on the Juche idea

We are greatly concerned with the education of youth and children. This is because they are the reserves of our revolution who must carry forward the revolution through coming generations. Moreover, there is no more important job than that of educating and training people for the progress of society.

It is true that with no material means people can neither live nor develop. In this sense, the economy constitutes the material basis of social life. But these means are always planned for the benefit of people and would be meaningless without them. It is also the people who create the means of living and improve living conditions. Therefore, what is most important in the development of society is training people to be more dynamic; in order to powerfully push ahead with the revolution and construction, top priority should be given to the work with men, that is, to the work of remoulding men.

The basis of the Juche idea is that man is the master of all things and the decisive factor in everything. Remaking nature and society is also for people and it is work done by them. Man is the most precious treasure in the world and he is also the most powerful. All our work is for the people and its success depends on the way we work with them. Education is an important aspect of the work with men.

Education involves training people to be social beings fully prepared mentally, morally and physically. In order to become social beings, they should first have sound social consciousness. If the younger generation, who were born in this revolutionary era, are not armed with revolutionary ideas and if they are ignorant of science, technique or literature and art as the men in our era of socialist construction, they cannot be called social beings.

Only when people have ideological and cultural background which they should possess as social beings, can they participate as masters in all aspects of social life and energetically accelerate the revolution and construction. This is why our Party always places greater emphasis on education than on any other work.

We regard as the core of education the implementation of the socialist pedagogical doctrine. Its basic principle lies in training people to be reliable revolutionary workers equipped with the ideology, knowledge and a strong physique that will enable them to take the role of master in the revolution and construction.

It is most important in training and educating people to remould their ideology in a revolutionary way. All human activity is determined by ideology. If a man is ideologically backward and morally degenerate, despite his excellent health, he cannot but be regarded as utterly useless and mentally disabled in our society. Therefore, our Party always directs its primary attention to remoulding people's ideology in a revolutionary manner.

In the education of youth and children, we should give top priority to the work of training them in revolutionary ideas. If they hate work and do not serve the state and society, their knowledge and skills will be of no use however excellent they may be. They must be so equipped with socialist patriotism and a revolutionary world outlook as to work for their people and homeland instead of trying to get promoted or earn money; we should see to it that whatever they learn is useful and that all children and young people grow up into a new type of men with communist moral traits, who are eager to work, protect and take good care of state and social property, and take the lead in the revolution and construction. This is the fundamental requirement of socialist pedagogy.

Today we are making great efforts to enforce universal compulsory ten-year senior middle school education. When this has been effected, our rising generation will grow up as an able builder of socialism, equipped with the essentials of a revolutionary world outlook, with a basic knowledge of nature and society and more than one technical skill. This is of tremendous significance in revolutionizing and working-classizing the entire society and advancing our socialist construction.

You requested me to give a detailed explanation of the Juche idea. But there is no end to it. All the policies and lines of our Party emanate from the Juche idea and they embody this idea. The Juche idea is not a theory for theory's sake; it is the guiding idea of the revolution and construction in our country that we put forth on the basis of the experiences and lessons obtained through our complicated revolutionary struggles. In our country the Juche idea is a stern fact of history established in all aspects of social life. To have a deep understanding of the Juche idea, it is necessary to make a detailed study of our Party's policy and our country's reality.

2. ON THE FOREIGN POLICY OF THE GOVERNMENT OF THE REPUBLIC

You asked me what influence our foreign policy, based as it is on the Juche idea, has in strengthening the solidarity of the socialist countries, in the anti-imperialist struggle and in the consolidation of international democratic forces. I am going to make a few remarks on this question.

As you correctly pointed out, the Government of the Republic formulates its foreign policy on the basis of the Juche idea and is guided by this idea in carrying out all its external activities. In a word, our Republic firmly maintains independence in its foreign activities.

The Government of the Republic's independent foreign policy reflects the lofty aspirations of our people and the world's people. In our foreign activity we maintain the principle of increasing internationalist solidarity and cooperation, while holding fast to independence; we are promoting our friendly and cooperative relations with those countries which are friendly

towards our country, be they large or small. Neither do we infringe upon the interests of other countries nor do we allow anyone to encroach upon our nation's rights and dignity, or meddle in our country's internal affairs. This foreign policy pursued by the Government of our Republic not only conforms with the interests of the revolution and construction in our country, but it is also in full accord with the interests of world revolution.

The principle of independence held by the Government of our Republic in its external activity is in no way contradicted by proletarian internationalism. There can be no internationalism without independence, and vice versa.

First of all, our Government's foreign policy based on the Juche idea is actively contributing to strengthening the solidarity of socialist countries.

The Government of the Republic strictly abides by the principle of independence in its relations with the socialist countries With the principle of equality and independence we are developing our relations of friendship and cooperation with the socialist countries. And against all hues of opportunism arising within the international working-class movement, too, we are waging our struggle in conformity with the actual conditions of our country, always on the basis of our independent judgment and conviction.

We adhere to our principle based on independence particularly in our efforts to achieve unity and cohesion among the socialist countries. We maintain that all socialist countries should, first, oppose imperialism; second, support the national-liberation movement in colonies and international working-class movement; third, go on towards socialism and communism; and fourth, attain unity on the principle of noninterference in each other's internal affairs, mutual respect, equality and reciprocity Although there exist differences of opinion among the fraternal parties and socialist countries, we continue to promote unity and wage a joint struggle in accordance with these four principles.

As for the anti-imperialist struggle, also, the Government of our Republic is fighting in accordance with our own beliefs and our actual situation. Internally, we define as a major revolutionary task the struggle against US imperialism, the sworn enemy of our people, and in our external activities as well, we are actively battling to check and frustrate the US imperialist policies of aggression and war and to defend world peace and security. Our Government regards it as its iron rule to give active support and encouragement to the struggle of the world's people against US imperialism and is endeavouring to increase our solidarity with all the anti-imperialist forces.

With regard to the international democratic movement, the Government of our Republic also adheres to the principle of independence and noninterference. We are doing all we can to support and encourage the revolutionary struggle and democratic movement of the people in the world for peace and democracy, national independence and social progress; we have no intention to interfere or impose our ideas upon them.

Our Government also strives to unite with the newly independent countries and all other countries on the five principles—respect for territorial integrity and sovereignty, nonaggression, noninterference in each other's internal affairs, equality and mutual benefit, and peaceful coexistence.

Our Party's Juche idea and our Government's independent foreign policy enjoy the active support and sympathy of the world people. With each day more and more people throughout the world are expressing sympathy with our Party's revolutionary Juche idea and positively supporting the principle of independence maintained by the Government of the Republic.

Today progressive people in the world want to live in accordance with the Juche idea and many countries demand independence. No one wants to be subjugated by others. No nation will tolerate interference in its internal affairs and infringement upon its dignity. Not only the socialist countries but also the

newly independent countries oppose foreign interference and restrictions, and are taking the road to independence and self-reliance. Even capitalist countries do not want to blindly follow big powers any longer but are demanding the right of independent actions. The world's people are now demanding the Juche idea and many countries are on the road of independence. This is an irresistible trend of our time.

You wanted to hear our views on peace in Viet Nam and the Asian policy of US imperialism in this context. I will now touch on this problem briefly.

Peace has not yet been achieved and the war is still going on in Viet Nam. This is very regrettable not only for you but also for the Asian people and the peace-loving people the world over. Particularly, the war in Viet Nam is causing great misfortunes and sufferings to its people.

It is entirely because of the crafty and vicious US imperialist policy of aggression that peace has not been achieved in Viet Nam.

As you know, in recent years US imperialism has repeatedly sustained great setbacks in the Viet Nam war and has undergone a serious political, economic and military crisis at home and abroad. To find a way out of this dead end, US imperialism produced the so-called "Nixon doctrine". This is a more crafty and insidious policy of aggression aimed at making Asians fight Asians in Asia and Africans fight Africans in Africa

However, the "Nixon doctrine" is a stereotyped and worn-out artifice which is quite infeasible. The reactionary ruling circles have long employed it to save themselves whenever they are driven into a predicament.

Above all, the "Nixon doctrine" is going bankrupt in the face of the Vietnamese people's heroic war of resistance. At present, the US imperialists, while persistently furthering the plan to "Vietnamize" the war in South Viet Nam, are more viciously committing the criminal acts of blockading the coast of the Dem-

ocratic Republic of Viet Nam and indiscriminately bombing its towns, villages and economic and cultural establishments. But they continue to suffer heavy military and political setbacks in the face of the heroic struggle of the Vietnamese people who have risen as one in the battle against US aggression for national salvation.

In order to ensure peace in Viet Nam, the US imperialists must immediately stop their aggressive war, give up the policy of "Vietnamization" of the war and get out of South Viet Nam taking their armed forces of aggression, troops of their satellites and puppets and lethal weapons. The Viet Nam question must be solved by the Vietnamese people themselves without any interference from outside forces.

The heroic Vietnamese people who are enjoying the powerful support and encouragement of the revolutionary peoples of Asia and the rest of the world will frustrate the US imperialist policy of "Vietnamization" and surely win great victory in their struggle to liberate the South, defend the North and reunify the country.

Now, I would like to refer briefly to the Government of the Republic's position on the discussion of the Korean question at the UN General Assembly this year.

At present we take a fundamentally different position to that of our enemy on this matter.

As they did last year, the US imperialists and south Korean rulers are employing the tactics of stalling the discussion of the Korean question at the UN General Assembly this year. They maintain that there is no need for the UN General Assembly to deal with the Korean question and its discussion must be postponed because talks have begun between the Red Cross organizations of north and south Korea and dialogues are going on between the north and south.

This assertion is quite contrary to the will of the Korean people; it is an extremely unjust assertion aimed at hampering the

independent, peaceful reunification of Korea. Sinister designs are hidden in the scheme of the US imperialists and south Korean rulers to put off the consideration of the Korean question at the UN General Assembly again this year on the pretext of the partial contacts and dialogues now going on between the north and south. By putting off the discussion, the US imperialists try to cover up their policy of aggression in Korea and the south Korean rulers want to keep the US imperialist aggressor troops stationed in south Korea. Therefore, the tactics of the US imperialists and south Korean rulers in relation to the United Nations is totally aggressive and anti-popular.

To counter these enemy tactics, the Government of the Republic has decided to insist on the discussion of the Korean question at this year's UN General Assembly session.

We consider the United Nations should help the Korean people's struggle for the independent, peaceful reunification of their country since dialogues are being held between the north and south, the talks are going on between the Red Cross organizations of north and south Korea and the north and south made a joint statement which calls for the unity of the Korean nation to reunify the country peacefully free from foreign interference

If the United Nations wants to help towards the independent, peaceful reunification of Korea, it should not postpone but conduct the discussion of the Korean question at this year's UN General Assembly session and take positive steps in order that the Korean people's struggle to reunify their country peacefully on the principle of national self-determination may succeed

The United Nations must first dissolve the "UN Commission for the Unification and Rehabilitation of Korea", take the cap of "UN forces" off the US imperialist aggressor army occupying south Korea under the UN signboard and force them to withdraw from south Korea. At the same time, it must revoke all the resolutions and actions against the Korean people's struggle for na-

tional reunification and adopt a resolution for the independent, peaceful reunification of Korea. If the United Nations takes these measures, Korea's peaceful reunification will stand a better chance of coming about.

Many countries are supporting our policy towards the United Nations today. More and more countries will give support to our just policy in the future.

We consider that with the active support of the world's progressive people, the United Nations will, sooner or later, take positive measures for the independent, peaceful reunification of Korea.

3. ON THE QUESTION OF THE PEACEFUL REUNIFICATION OF KOREA

It is the invariable policy of our Party and the Government of the Republic to reunify the divided country independently and peacefully. From the first days of our country's division, we have made every sincere effort for its peaceful reunification.

However, our country still remains divided into the north and south; it has not been reunified though 27 years have passed since liberation. Our people who are suffering from territorial division and a national split unanimously want the peaceful reunification of the country.

The aspiration for peaceful national reunification is rising rapidly not only among the people in the northern half of the Republic but among the south Korean people.

When the sentiments for peaceful reunification were rapidly mounting among the south Korean people, we declared in the August 6 speech last year that we were ready to come in touch at

any time with all political parties including the Democratic Republican Party, social organizations and individual personages in south Korea.

After we made this new proposal expressing our readiness to get in contact even with the Democratic Republican Party of south Korea, the south Korean people increased their pressure and the world raised its voice for such a contact. This compelled the south Korean authorities to propose to hold north-south Red Cross talks and start a movement to search for families. Needless to say, we had proposed political negotiations with the south Korean side. But since we have consistently desired to have north-south contact ever since right after liberation, we valued their proposal despite its limitations and agreed to hold talks though confined to a movement to search for families. As a result, the preliminary talks between the Red Cross organizations of the north and south opened on September 20 last year.

When the preliminary talks opened, the south Korean people, to say nothing of the people in the northern half of the Republic, deeply rejoiced over the materialization of north-south contacts and warmly hailed it with great excitement. Following the preliminary talks between the Red Cross organizations of the north and south, the sentiments for peaceful reunification mounted still higher among the south Korean people.

Scared by the south Korean people's fast-mounting sentiments for peaceful reunification, the south Korean authorities proclaimed a "state of emergency" under the fictitious pretext of "threat of aggression from the north" and launched the racket of suppressing the people. The declaration of the "state of emergency" by the south Korean rulers was merely a deceptive manoeuvre to dampen the sentiments for peaceful reunification and the democratic aspiration rapidly growing among the south Korean people.

Even after they declared the "state of emergency", we put forward different positive proposals for reunification out of the

desire to dispel the dark clouds of the national split and reunify the country in a peaceful way.

The pressure of the south Korean people and the strong opinion of the people of the world forced the south Korean authorities to propose secret north-south high-level talks separately from the preliminary talks between the Red Cross organizations of the north and south. Thus, as is known to the world, the north-south high-level talks were held and the north-south joint statement was made public with our three principles of national reunification as its main content.

The high-level talks between the north and south and the north-south joint statement have opened up a bright prospect for our nation in its struggle to bring about the independent, peaceful reunification of the country. The spirit of the north-south joint statement on the peaceful reunification of the country by the efforts of the Koreans themselves, free from foreign interference, has evoked the sympathy of all the Korean people and the world at large.

However, the announcement of the north-south joint statement does not mean that all problems of national reunification will be solved easily. In order to achieve the independent, peaceful reunification of the country, all the Korean people must carry on their consistent struggle with patience.

After the joint statement was made, the south Korean authorities turned their backs and are now employing a double-dealing tactics; they are not honestly implementing the agreements stipulated in the joint statement. They say good words when they have face-to-face talks with us. But as soon as they turn on their heels, they slander us and become engrossed in statements and acts contrary to the fundamental spirit of the joint statement.

The first principle of national reunification made clear in the north-south joint statement is to reunify the country independently on the principle of national self-determination, without

relying on outside forces or their interference. Frankly speaking, reunifying the country independently means *forcing US imperialism out of south Korea and preventing other foreign forces from interfering in the reunification of our country.*

We are in alliance with the Soviet Union and China, but they do not meddle in the internal affairs of our country. There are neither Soviet troops nor Chinese People's Volunteers in our country. The outside forces now encroaching upon our sovereignty and standing in the way of our national reunification are none other than US imperialism and some Japanese reactionaries. In order to reunify the country independently, therefore, we must oppose US imperialism and Japanese militarism, *which are interfering in the internal affairs of our country.*

Nevertheless, the south Korean authorities, even after they agreed to the principle of independent national reunification, are still making absurd allegations that the United Nations is not an outside force, that US troops should remain in south Korea for a long time or that Korea should be reunified through UN-supervised elections.

The north-south joint statement also affirms the principle that national reunification should be attained by peaceful means without recourse to force of arms against each other If this principle is to be observed, both sides must refrain from words and deeds that would aggravate the situation

We have clearly stated more than once that we have no intention to "invade the south". But the south Korean rulers say that they cannot trust our statements, and they are clamouring that they must "build up strength" for north-south confrontation by reinforcing military installations both at the front and in the rear and speeding up modernization of armaments; and they are also staging military exercises more frequently This is a grave act that will aggravate tension between the north and south.

The south Korean rulers' preposterous vilifications and provocations against us are evoking resentment among our people

and People's Army and creating a tension with dialogue, after all. This act will only help produce an atmosphere of war rather than an atmosphere of reunification.

Another major principle of national reunification clarified in the north-south joint statement is that of promoting the great unity of the nation transcending the differences in ideology, ideal and social system.

If we do not force the socialist system of the northern half upon south Korea and the south Korean authorities do not force us to restore the capitalist system, why should we, one and the same nation, fight against each other? We are not forcing socialism upon south Korea. What society south Korea will be in the future will be decided by the south Korean people according to their own will. The south Korean rulers are now clamouring that a "wind of freedom" should be sent into the north. This arrogant attitude is aimed at obstructing peaceful reunification.

The principle of achieving the great national unity transcending the differences in ideology, ideal and social system demands the democratization of society and the freedom of political activities for all parties, all groupings and personages of all strata. Only when society is democratized, can all the forces desirous of the independent, peaceful reunification of the country be united in one, irrespective of the differences in ideas, political views, religious beliefs and political groupings.

Even after the announcement of the north-south joint statement, however, the south Korean authorities have been suppressing democratic freedom as ever and intensifying their fascist repression of the people, claiming that there is no reason to revise the "Anti-Communist Law" and the "National Security Law". They are even restricting the activities of the opposition and are preventing the opposition party members from making contact with us, and they are arresting and imprisoning many people who advocated contact and interchange between the north and south and national reunification on charges of violating the

"Anti-Communist Law". Sometime ago the south Korean authorities went so far as to execute the patriots who had striven for democracy and peaceful reunification in south Korea. This is a naked provocation to us.

Though they solemnly pledged the nation to conscientiously carry out the agreements in the joint statement, the south Korean rulers are thus violating them without hesitation They do not think of the consequences of their treachery to the nation.

These provocative acts of the south Korean authorities are infuriating the entire Korean people and the world's people as well. For the sake of national reunification we are restraining our indignation and showing patience to the arrogant gangsterism on the part of the south Korean rulers. Their acts will, in the long run, evoke greater wrath among all the Korean people.

If the south Korean authorities desist from such acts, observe the provisions of the north-south joint statement the main *content of which is the three principles of national reunification*, make efforts to remove distrust and achieve mutual understanding and make sincere efforts for the solution of the reunification question, we will continue to work patiently for the independent, peaceful reunification of the country

First of all, we will exert every effort to bring about the earliest possible success of the talks between the Red Cross organizations of the north and south now going on amid the expectations of the whole nation. In this way we intend to alleviate the misfortunes and hardships of the families and relatives separated in the north and south by the artificial division of the country and provide favourable conditions for the independent, peaceful reunification of the country

Along with this, we will form and operate the North-South Coordination Commission as soon as possible, in order to implement the provisions of the north-south joint statement and to solve various problems to expedite the country's reunification

However, the question of the country's reunification cannot

be fully solved merely through contacts and negotiations in such a limited scope as the north-south Red Cross talks and the North-South Coordination Commission. The reunification of the country involves many problems which cannot be solved within the functions of the north-south Red Cross talks or the North-South Coordination Commission. To settle fundamental problems for the country's reunification, it is necessary to have contacts and negotiations on a wider scale, and in many more fields, to discuss a number of specific measures for removing the long-accumulated misunderstanding and mistrust between the north and south, promoting understanding and attaining independent, peaceful reunification. That is why we insist on immediately holding political negotiations such as a joint conference of political parties and social organizations in north and south Korea, or a conference of the north and south Korean authorities or a joint conference of our Supreme People's Assembly deputies and the south Korean "national assemblymen".

In order to attain the peaceful reunification of the country as early as possible we deem it necessary to institute a north-south Confederation for the present.

The north-south Confederation we propose involves the formation of a Supreme National Council with representatives of the Government of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea and the "Government of the Republic of Korea" to solve political, economic, military and cultural problems arising between the north and south and thereby attain national unity, while maintaining the present political systems of the north and south as they are. There is the difference in system between them. But, if both the north and south abide by the principle of not forcing their social systems on each other, there will be no reasons why they should not institute a north-south Confederation.

Once the Confederation is established, there will be more contacts and visits and economic and cultural intercourses will also be effected more smoothly between the north and south. If

the north and south economically work together and conduct interchange it will be possible to rapidly improve the economic situation of south Korea by utilizing the developed heavy industry and rich underground resources in the northern half of the Republic and it will greatly benefit the people in both parts of Korea. Sportsmen and artists may visit the north and south having sports games and giving art performances, and form single north-south teams and single art troupes to participate in international sports competitions and international art festivals. Journalists may also freely travel for news coverage; and it will be possible to set up press centres or newspaper bureaus in Pyongyang and Seoul and exchange newspapers and journals between the north and south.

If a north-south Confederation is instituted and broad intercourses and visits are effected in economic, cultural and all other domains, mistrust and cold feeling between the north and south will be removed and a climate of mutual understanding and trust be created and national unity be easily attained. If an atmosphere of trust is created and national unity achieved between the north and south, the independent, peaceful reunification of the country will be actualized by way of establishing an all-Korea unified government through north-south general elections on a democratic basis without any interference of outside forces.

4. ON THE RELATIONS BETWEEN KOREA AND JAPAN

As you know, in those days of the Sato Cabinet, the Japanese government pursued an extremely hostile policy towards our country. But there is an indication that the present Tanaka Cabinet is pursuing a little less hostile policy than the Sato

Cabinet. Sato obdurately opposed the travels of Korean citizens in Japan to and from the homeland and their trips abroad. Korean citizens in Japan are now allowed to make trips abroad to some extent and they are permitted to visit their homeland, though partially. I think this is a good thing.

However, we cannot say that everything has been settled in the relations between Korea and Japan. Many problems have yet to be solved in order to normalize relations between the two countries.

To form a friendly relationship and establish normal diplomatic relations between Korea and Japan, the Japanese government must first change its attitude towards our country. It is entirely because of the hostile policy of the Japanese government that friendly relations have not been formed till today between Korea and Japan. If the Japanese government stops meddling in the internal affairs of the Korean peninsula and takes a friendly attitude towards our country, everything will be settled smoothly between Korea and Japan.

Our position to the question of Korea-Japan relations is consistent. From the first days, the Democratic People's Republic of Korea has hoped to have good-neighbour relations with Japan even though its social system differs from ours; and even now we want to put an end to the abnormal situation between the two countries as early as practicable and establish normal relations.

If the Japanese government is desirous of establishing good-neighbour relations with our country, it should renounce the one-sided policy and adopt an unbiased policy devoid of aggressive aim to both the north and south of the Korean peninsula, and by doing so, it should help towards accelerating Korean reunification.

Pursuing the one-sided policy, the Japanese government is trying to sow the seed of discord in the Korean peninsula by egging on one side to oppose the other. This is most undesirable. The Japanese government should hope that the Korean peninsu-

la, its neighbour, will become stable and north and south Korea will be reunified and live in peace and happiness. If people in the next-door house were in turmoil and fighting each other, it would not benefit Japan either, would it? We consider that for its own benefit, too, the Japanese government should pursue a friendly policy towards our country, its neighbour.

It is true that there is a difference in the systems of our country and Japan. But we think that it would be quite correct for the Japanese government to treat our country on an equal footing and establish diplomatic relations with us on the five principles of peaceful coexistence since it has established diplomatic relations with other countries with different social systems.

Even before the establishment of diplomatic relations with Japan, we are ready to effect frequent visits of journalists, technicians and other sectors of people and conduct broad economic and cultural interchange. This sort of intercourse must not be one-sided; it must be conducted on the principles of equality and mutual benefit.

As you know, Korea and Japan are conducting some interchange at present. However, it cannot but assume a one-sided character because of the unfriendly attitude of the Japanese government. Take the exchange of journalists for example. You Japanese journalists can visit our country but our journalists cannot visit Japan. As long as this one-sided intercourse is conducted, friendly relations will never develop between the two countries.

In our opinion, whether good-neighbour relations will be established between Korea and Japan or not depends entirely on the Japanese government's attitude aside from specific procedures.

In the establishment of friendly relations between Korea and Japan it is very important that the Japanese government guarantees the Korean citizens in Japan their national rights.

Foreigners should be guaranteed their national rights. This is the requirement of international law. But the Korean citizens

in Japan are not given a treatment due to foreigners today although they have the nationality of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea. This is another expression of the Japanese government's unfriendly attitude towards our country.

We demand that, first of all, the Korean citizens in Japan be guaranteed the full right to national education as well as the right to repatriation and the freedom of travel to and from the homeland.

You said that Japan has incurred widespread criticism internationally by its rapid economic development in recent years and asked for our views of Japan's present situation and foreign policy. Let me make a brief remark on this point.

We do not think ill of Japan's economic development. Why should we think ill of our neighbour's economic development? If the development of Japan's economy is not used for the revival of militarism and aggression on other countries and contributes to enhancing the material and cultural living standards of the Japanese people and promoting its friendly relations with other countries, it will indeed be a good thing.

In the past, however, the reactionary Japanese ruling circles craftily schemed to speed up the militarization of the country and invade other countries on the basis of revival of Japan's monopoly capital and the establishment of its ruling system. The Japanese reactionaries have not yet dispatched troops abroad, but are laying a stepping stone for their future military aggression in other countries. This shows the danger of the revival of Japanese militarism.

At present, the Japanese reactionaries, actively speeding up the militarization of the country, have made no scruple of embarking on the road of aggression against other countries under the guise of their "helper". Taking advantage of the economic difficulties of some countries in Southeast Asia, they try to seize the key branches of their economy by increasing the export of capital to these countries under various names such as "govern-

ment loan", "direct investment" and "joint enterprise". They *attach big political strings to their "economic aid" in an attempt* to sway some newly independent countries to the Right and deflect them from the anti-imperialist front.

Especially, Japan's reactionary ruling circles started their full-scale economic infiltration into south Korea after manufacturing the criminal "ROK-Japan treaty". They are frantically working to reduce south Korea again into Japan's exclusive *colony, stepping up political and military infiltration* along with the economic infiltration.

It was reported that sometime ago the Japanese authorities went to Seoul and held the "ROK-Japan ministerial conference" with the south Korean rulers, at which they agreed to conclude an "agreement on industrial ownership" with the south Korean reactionaries as a price of the so-called "aid". This is also an open act of aggression designed to subordinate south Korea to Japan economically. The conclusion of the "agreement on industrial ownership" between Japan and south Korea will enable the Japanese monopolies to have privileges in their business activities in south Korea and will shackle the south Korean economy more tightly to the rapacious Japanese monopoly capital. This will create the danger of another Japanese invasion of south Korea, just as the Japanese imperialists invaded our country in 1894 under the pretext of protecting the Japanese property and the Japanese residents. As you see, the Japanese monopoly capital is paving the way for overseas aggression of Japanese militarism.

This is why our people are becoming more vigilant against the fattening Japanese monopoly capital and resolutely fighting against the militarization of Japan's economy and its overseas aggression.

The Japanese reactionaries must not forget the lesson of history and must stop the militarization of Japan's economy and manoeuvres for overseas aggression If the Japanese reaction-

aries continue to take the road of overseas aggression, oblivious of the lesson of history, they will sustain another shameful defeat in face of the struggle of our people and the world's progressive people.

The Korean people express solidarity with the Japanese people in their righteous struggle against the revival of Japanese militarism and the Japanese reactionaries' aggressive manoeuvres.

I take this opportunity to send my greetings to the Japanese people and progressive men of the Japanese press who are helping the Korean citizens in Japan in their struggle to defend their democratic, national rights and actively supporting our people's struggle for the independent, peaceful reunification of the country.

TALK WITH THE MANAGING EDITOR OF THE JAPANESE POLITICO-THEORETICAL MAGAZINE SEKAI

October 6, 1972

I am grateful to you for your visit to our country. I also extend my thanks to your director for the letter he has sent me. When you are back home, please convey my greetings to him.

You have addressed me a number of questions, and now I will make my comments.

You asked me when the Juche idea was formed and established.

On this question I am going to give you a general account as I did to the correspondents of the *Mainichi Shimbun*.

You asked if you may consider it right to say that the history of the Juche idea is the history of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea itself. I quite agree with you

The Juche idea could be fully materialized in our country after the people assumed power. We can say that since then the struggle has been conducted to put the Juche idea into reality in all spheres of activity.

But as for the background of the emergence of the Juche idea, we came to form this idea in the course of a long revolutionary struggle waged through many turns and twists.

To illustrate how I came to form the Juche idea, I must men-

tion two facts which I witnessed while I was still young. Of what I saw when I was still young, particularly when I was a student, there were two facts I thought most unjust.

One of them was the fact that the Communists and nationalists who professed themselves to be engaged in the national-liberation movement of Korea were divorced from the masses, a few top-level personalities simply playing with words and quarrelling, instead of arousing the masses to the actual revolutionary movement. It was essential to organize and mobilize all the masses to assure success in the revolutionary movement. But those people, isolated from the masses, only scrambled for hegemony and had "theoretical" arguments with each other, each claiming his own superiority. Their "theory" was not for the advancement of the revolution, but was a sophism that had nothing to do with the revolutionary work. So I wondered how they could ever bring the revolution to success merely by getting together and indulging in controversy all the time without developing a mass movement, and began to take a critical view of these phenomena.

The masters of the revolutionary struggle are the masses, and only when they rise will it be possible to win the struggle. Yet, a handful of leaders, divorced from the masses, were only talking nonsense. What was the use of it? We pondered seriously over it. Those people ought to have gone among the masses and awakened them so that the masses became masters in the revolutionary struggle. While a few persons of leadership indulged only in word play, no problem could be solved. This led us to attach great importance to Juche, to the viewpoint that the masses themselves were the main factor in solving all questions.

Another fact I faced was that there were many factions within the Korean communist movement at that time. I am not sure whether this was because of the mysticism of the communist movement or a scramble for power or flunkeyism. But our country had many factions then, such as the M-L group, the Tues-

day group and the North Wind Association group. All these factions sent their representatives to the Communist International in their efforts to obtain its recognition. If they conducted the communist movement well, they would be recognized without taking such troubles. However, they formed their own groups by ganging up three or five persons and busied themselves in gaining the recognition of the Communist International, instead of carrying out revolutionary movements. Each of the groups insisted that it was the only orthodox and genuine Marxist group. As a result, the Korean Communist Party was expelled from the Communist International in 1928, and was finally dissolved. We thought it a disgrace to the Korean nation. If one conducts the revolutionary movement well, one will be recognized by others without going to all the trouble of asking for their recognition. Is a Communist Party regarded as such only when it has obtained others' recognition? We need not get others' approval before starting our revolutionary movement. We carry it out if we want to. When we do so properly, what does it matter whether others give us approval or not? If only we make revolution well, others will naturally give us recognition What is the need of bustling about to gain others' recognition?

These two factors—the serious factional strife in the Korean national-liberation and communist movements and the leadership divorced from the masses—strongly convinced us that *we must not carry out our revolution in that way* We keenly felt that we must go among the masses and rely on them in our struggle, that we must solve our problems by our own efforts, and that if we worked well, others' recognition would be out of the question.

The two aspects as mentioned above had great impact on the development of my revolutionary thinking From then on we emphasized that the populace are the masters of revolution, and accordingly, we must go among them and that if we step up the revolution of our own country with our own efforts in a responsible manner, whether or not recognized by others, we will

naturally gain sympathy, recognition and assistance from other countries. We can say this was the starting point of our Juche idea.

As I said to the *Mainichi Shimbun* journalists the other day, the long revolutionary struggle deepened our conviction that the force of the masses is the main factor in the solution of all problems. We must solve all problems, relying on the force of the masses, and since revolution is a struggle of the masses to emancipate themselves, they must rise up in unity. It is on this basis that we carried out our revolutionary struggle.

We also thought that all problems had to be posed in accord with the masses' political awareness.

In 1936 we organized the Association for the Restoration of the Fatherland and advanced its Ten-Point Programme. I will not refer to its details. At the time we presented a programme for mass unity—that the whole nation must be banded together and all the populace must be united—a programme to form an anti-imperialist, anti-feudal united front against the imperialists and traitors to the nation. This was a most appropriate slogan for our people at that time. After liberation, too, we based ourselves on this line in carrying out a number of policies.

Our fundamental problem was how to get more masses to participate in the revolutionary movement and the building of the country. In the early days after liberation we organized the Communist Party and the Young Communist League. Right after liberation, however, our country had a small working class, and only a few of its members were armed with communist ideology. In this situation, if we stuck to the slogans of the Communist Party or the Young Communist League, it might split the masses and young people into many groups. We took stock of the situation and realized that the formation of the Communist Party did not conform with the masses' preparedness. Therefore, we promptly reorganized it into the Workers' Party. We also took the initiative in transforming the Young Communist League into

the Democratic Youth League that embraced young men and women of all strata.

The revolutionary movement and the construction of the country cannot be carried out by the efforts of a few Communists. They must be joined by many youths and progressives. Hence, we desisted from the narrow-minded position and reformed our organizations to meet the demands of the realities.

After the founding of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea we laid greater emphasis on the necessity to solve all problems by ourselves.

Our situation was completely different from that in other countries. Ours was the only Asian country where the people seized power right after World War II. At the time China was still carrying on her revolutionary struggle. Our country's situation was quite different also from that in the European countries. We have characteristic features as an Oriental people, as the Korean nation. Therefore, we could not copy European things mechanically. Of course, we should study and refer to [illegible] experiences gained in the European countries, but we could [illegible] follow them mechanically. Ours was a backward country [illegible] had suffered for a long time from the corrupt policies of [illegible] rulers and then remained a colony over 36 years. If our [illegible] was to rid itself of backwardness, it was essential to [illegible] and policies to suit Korean realities. So we had [illegible] problems in a unique way. Objective realities [illegible] so. In other words, realities demanded us to [illegible] ence and creativity. That is why we believed [illegible] had to pursue all policies in conformity [illegible] tions and our people's demands

You asked among other things [illegible] was in the formation of the Juche idea. [illegible] question. In my opinion, it also has [illegible]

What is most important in [illegible] do work with men well, because [illegible]

in the struggle to transform society and nature, in the last analysis, depends largely upon how to do work with men.

Work with men is extremely important. As I always say, Party work is work with men, so is the work of mass organizations. Economic activity, too, goes well only when work with men is done well. But this work was often done not properly but in an administrative manner, instead of educating and teaching men patiently. This was our greatest difficulty.

It is wrong to do work with men in an administrative manner. The administrative method of work is a bureaucratic work method. Revolution must not be made in an administrative way. We have not yet been able to rectify this completely.

We are continuously endeavouring within the Party to change Party work into work with men. But in some cases work with men is replaced by issuing instructions or decisions or by holding meetings. I think this is one of the major defects that have to be overcome. We are now making efforts to rectify it.

In order to establish the Juche idea, it is most important to remould men's ideology. With administrative methods it is impossible. If we issue instructions in an administrative manner, people do not accept them actually although they do on the surface. If we issue orders which are not to their liking, the masses do not accept them at heart; they just pretend to accept them. We insist on rooting out the administrative methods. We are making sure that both in economic and state affairs or in any other activity political work is done ahead of all other work before appropriate tasks are given.

In personnel administration, we should educate cadres after their assignment. Only then, can we prevent them from committing errors. Giving them no education after their assignment and dismissing them after they have committed mistakes is wrong. This shows the ignorance of work with men and the inability to do it.

Another main stumbling block to establishing the Juche idea

is flunkeyism. Flunkeyism is an old idea that had been handed down over centuries in our country. The flunkeyists claim that their own things are all bad, that they have nothing which is useful and that everything foreign is good. They take such a nihilistic attitude to things of their own.

Of course, there are good as well as bad ones in things foreign, and we may learn from good things. We do not mean that we are chauvinistic because we are opposed to flunkeyism.

Of things foreign we must learn from good ones and cast aside bad ones. Even in this case, we must take them in such a way as to suit our taste. We must not try to eat those things that we do not like. Some Koreans had been so deeply infected with flunkeyism in the past that we had to wage a hard struggle to root it out.

At one time flunkeyism was expressed to a great extent in our country. Let me tell you just how flunkeyism was manifested in the realm of literature and arts.

It happened when flunkeyism and dogmatism were manifested to a great extent in our country. I visited a local army hospital during the war in order to ask after the wounded. There was a picture hung on the wall. It showed a Siberian landscape with a bear creeping around on the snow-covered ground under a giant pine tree. I asked the soldiers which place the picture showed. They said that the painting showed a bear crawling around in a forest but they did not know where the place was. Then I asked them if there were many bears in our forests. They said there were some but they were not typical Korean animals

I asked the soldiers which they liked, this picture or a nice painting of our Mt. Kumgang-san. They answered that they preferred the latter. So I asked the chief of the political department of the unit why he had this sort of picture hung instead of that of our Mt. Kumgang-san, which the soldiers liked better. I was shocked to hear his answer. He said that he had to buy it be our picture dealers sold only such pictures.

The occasion gave us a great mental stimulant, and we thought that all this was because of flunkeyism. So we began to check how things were going on in the realm of arts at that time. Our examination showed that almost all of our artists were engaged in Western painting.

At that time our musical world had a very few national instruments. There were national instruments at some places, but they were exactly the same as used in old days. Some artists alleged that our national music was old and Western music was modern. This is actually the way they used to call them. So I gathered artists and asked them why they, the contemporaries, could not produce their own music although our ancestors had created theirs, why they regarded Western music as the sole modern music, why there was no modern national music and on what ground they defined that modern music was Western music; I asked them why Korean national music should be an old music and modern music be Western music and why we Koreans could not create modern music to suit our national taste. They could not answer my questions.

Furthermore, I asked our artists about the meaning of the word "realism" they used so often. They knew the word only, not its real meaning. So I told them that they should not swallow up things that way. Then I gave a definition of socialist realism in our country: national in form and socialist in content.

I told them that they must not label everything as socialist realism, and that it was meaningless to create music that could not be understood by the Korean people. I also said to the artists: "Of course, I am not against your singing only Italian and other European songs. But I wonder how many Koreans will like them. You have failed to create art for the masses. What's the use of making art for art's sake? Art should serve the people. Music should be nice to hear; it should bring joy to people; it should be understood and approved by them. But they say they don't understand your music. If you indulge in the old musical art under

the pretence of reclaiming national music, our young people will not like it. You must not take to restorationism either. If you do, you'll eventually be inclined to admire the West. We should never do that."

Instead of trying to serve their nation and people, some people thought that if they introduced everything foreign, it would do since foreign things were all good. This was a great problem.

In our country flunkeyism found expression also in the fields of construction, industrial management and education.

Thus, flunkeyism was manifested a great deal in different realms in our country before and it was very difficult to overcome. We have fought flunkeyism over a long period of time.

As I have said, we have two major obstacles to overcome in establishing the Juche idea in our country. One is flunkeyism and the other is the administrative method in working with men. I think this will be overcome only through a prolonged struggle.

We are still striving to overcome them and I think we should continue to do so. We do not consider that they have now been surmounted completely. That is why we are still stressing that both Party work and the activities of the working people's organizations should not be conducted by the administrative method but should be converted into work with people. At the same time, we are emphasizing that all of us must serve our country and people and that we must not take nihilistic attitudes towards our own things, alleging that we have nothing which is useful, while approving and worshipping everything foreign. In a nutshell, we are going to eliminate the idea of relying on others without having faith in our own strength. This does not mean national communism. If revolution and work of construction are conducted well at each national unit, they will also be successful on a worldwide scale, won't they? Marx, Engels and Lenin also said that Marxism is not a dogma and it should be applied creatively.

In your next question, you asked if the Juche idea is a new

philosophy on the correlation between the national task and the task of internationalist solidarity. That is an excessive praise.

In my opinion, true Marxists must be independent and creative. As for me, I have only emphasized this point.

I will not make lengthy remarks on this matter. I have already talked a lot about the problems related to the content of the Juche idea. Since I fully touched upon them in my answers to the questions raised by the Japanese *Mainichi* and *Yomiuri Shimbun* journalists, I believe you understand them. So I am not going to make any further statement in order to avoid repetition.

I have spoken about the problems that have arisen in translating the Juche idea into reality. There are many other problems, of course, but I concentrated on fundamental points today. This much for the problem of the Juche idea.

I will answer your question about our education.

We attach more importance to this problem than others. As I have just said, what is important in establishing our Juche idea is to work well with men. In order to do this work well, we should first carry out education well.

Educational activity is the beginning of work with men. That is why our Party and Government have put a lot of energy into this problem from the start.

In order for our country to extricate itself from backwardness and advance rapidly, all our people had to be given education. The goal of socialist and communist construction itself demands us to conduct education well. After all, the construction of socialism and communism aims at providing all people with abundant lives. For this purpose it is important not only to raise everybody's material standard of life but also to his ideological and cultural levels.

The aim of revolution is to get all people to lead a[illegible] lives. To do so, everybody must work well and, in order t[illegible] well, he must have his consciousness.

The development of people's consciousness should star

education. It is clear what great power can be displayed when everyone works consciously. I think if all people take a conscious part in the work of construction and revolutionary struggle, it will bring about great power and make everyone well-off more quickly.

Unless the people get educated well, there may emerge such persons who neglect the property of the state and society and destroy or eat it away. Then it will be useless however much we may build. Some people like to live idle, but if we do so, it will be impossible to make our people equally well-off.

Our Party holds that we must occupy the material and ideological fortresses on the way to communism. It will be wrong to capture the material fortress only without conquering the ideological fortress. Unless the ideological fortress is occupied, it is impossible to capture the material fortress. Therefore, we presented the slogan: "The whole country must study, the entire Party must study, and all the people must study." Under this slogan everybody is studying now

In our country people of over 40 are made to attend the working people's middle schools to attain the knowledge of middle school graduates; all people under 40 are at the level of middle school graduates or above since they have received compulsory secondary education.

In order to educate people, cadres must show a practical example. We have set up a system under which cadres study two hours every day. They also study every Saturday afternoon, and we have a system for them to study for one month a year. This is to reeducate cadres. Under this system our cadres study to raise their ideological, cultural and technological standards.

Education of youth and children is very important. To this end, we have introduced universal compulsory ten-year senior middle school education. We have a Korean saying: "A decade changes the appearance of mountains and rivers" I think ten

years of proper education will enable all the rising generation to lay the foundation of revolutionary world outlook.

Our compulsory education differs from that in capitalist countries. We give free education to all students; we do not engage them in physical labour during schooling. The state law prohibits labour by boys and girls under 16 years of age. If our children do any labour, they plant flowers on roadsides or trees on hills. That's about all. This is organized by schools to develop their love for labour, and it cannot be called labour in the true sense of the word. Our children have formed the Greening Guards and Hygienic Guards, flapping flies, polishing window glasses and cleaning classrooms. All this is designed to get all children and youth to love labour.

In our country today approximately six million members of the rising generation are receiving education at state expense at kindergartens, primary schools, senior middle schools and higher specialized schools. This imposes a considerable burden on the state. The burden is heavy now, but the prospects are bright. It will bear fruit ten years later.

In the old society the intelligentsia was regarded as a social stratum. Of course, it still is in capitalist society. But the intelligentsia may disappear in the future. When all people become intellectuals, then there will be no intelligentsia. At present our country has 500,000 technicians and specialists. We are putting up a slogan: Let's train another 500,000 during the Six-Year Plan and build a huge army of one million technicians and specialists. This is a task proposed by our Party at its Fifth Congress.

Party organizations at all levels are now stepping up a struggle to hit this target. We are increasing the number of factory colleges, along with regular institutes of higher learning. At factory colleges our workers study by day or by night according to shifts. We are going to form a great army of intellectuals in this way. From the prospective viewpoint, when almost all of our people graduate from colleges in the future, there will be no

separate social stratum such as the intelligentsia. They used to call the intelligentsia a wobbly circle or an opportunistic stratum but there will be no such problem in the future.

Our universal compulsory ten-year education is compulsory senior middle schooling. Through this we aim to give all our people perfect middle school education.

We started universal compulsory ten-year senior middle school education this year. We are planning to introduce it 20 per cent every year so that it will be completely introduced in five years. We think this is possible. Of course, there may be some difference between localities. This compulsory education may be fully introduced in four years in some places and three or two years in other places. We mean that its introduction will be completed in five years on a nationwide scale. Sometime ago I visited Mundok County. Its chief Party secretary told me that they would complete it in two years. I said I had no objection.

Once all the young people acquire perfect knowledge of middle school standard through compulsory senior middle school education, they will further their study with more facility. They may finish collegiate courses by studying for themselves or may continue to study at colleges. In my opinion, when they have received fundamental education, they will be able to acquire specialized knowledge without much difficulty.

Next, you asked me if we conduct a genius education, that is, a special education of those children who have remarkable talents. We are now conducting such an education, too. Fundamentally speaking, I oppose the theory on genius education, because it is difficult to classify people as talented or untalented.

But, in actual fact, we cannot deny that there are some who have peculiar talents for specific realms. In the Students and Children's Palace there is a girl who plays on xylophone. Probably you have seen her play. I think she has a special talent. She is 11 or 12 years old but plays on xylophone excellently. There exist some who have exceptional skill for certain fields like t

girl. We do not ignore this fact. Those children of remarkable talent are sent to appropriate schools.

For example, our country has the Institute of Science. This institute enrols fresh middle school graduates, whereas, as a rule, other institutes of higher learning admit those middle school graduates who have received recommendations after having worked at factories or finished their service in the army. We have this sort of system, too. There are similar systems in art and other fields. In some cases school teachers pick out some young people and recommend that for their brilliant talents it will be more beneficial to the state to give them special education than sending them to factories or to the army. Such young people are allowed to enter institutes of higher learning immediately after graduation.

Social organizations also have their own schools. The Women's Union runs the mothers' schools in the countryside. Both educated and uneducated women attend these schools. They were established with a view to giving appropriate education for women, teaching such subjects as on the question of the emancipation of women. The League of Socialist Working Youth, too, has schools for young people. Adult education is conducted in all parts of the country. Therefore, the Government has to offer a huge amount of funds for education. We are allotting almost all the state funds for education.

We are now studying socialist pedagogy. The most important thing in socialist pedagogy is training people to work willingly, which is the fundamental question in socialist construction. If one is to work well, one should study and raise one's technological level. It is also important to educate all the people to acquire the habit of taking care of social property, since all the wealth belongs to the people in socialist society. In this way, we attach great importance to the question of educating all men to love labour and look after the people's property in socialist society.

Furthermore, we must educate people to value the collective life more than the life of individuals, although the latter is also important. We educate our people with these subjects.

We can see such practices as hating labour, loafing on the job and embezzling and wasting the state property even in those countries whose people have received a fair education for many years. In order to eliminate such practices, I think, people should be educated to love labour, take care of the people's property and value their organizations and collectives.

We have proposed a task of studying socialist pedagogy consisting of the above-mentioned and some other aspects and are gradually putting it into practice. Perhaps you have received a lecture on this matter from our comrades, so I will cut my comment short here.

Capitalist society cannot abolish the police system. The police system aims to keep public order. In other words, the police performs the function of arresting thieves, controlling the violation of traffic regulations, keeping watch to prevent the illegal felling of trees in the mountains, collecting fines and so on. In order to put an end to such practices in the future, people should have a high level of consciousness and everyone should take care not to trouble others.

Our country has no forest ranger. But no one fells trees at will. We can find no practice of reckless felling in our country. I think this is because the people are conscious.

Would it be a good thing to increase the police as property increases? Our country has no police We have public security men to keep order, but they should disappear in the future. People must be led to do everything for themselves. Therefore, we must educate them well.

In addition, it is important to intensify organizational life so that people teach each other and correct each other's errors Since socialist pedagogy was introduced, improvements have been made in many aspects in our country.

You asked about our economic development. I will refer to it briefly.

As you know, since we rose on the ashes after the war, we underwent many difficulties in economic construction and we cannot yet say that we have solved all problems.

But we can tell you one thing: we are now able to walk by ourselves. What is important here is that we have our own cadres. We had no cadres of our own before. But the nation's cadres have been trained in large numbers for all branches. Our country has trained many young cadres, who are highly creative because they have developed in the course of the struggle for construction. Because there are many such cadres of our own, I think, the groundwork has been laid and the conditions created for the rapid economic development in the future.

You asked me what the main goal of the Six-Year Plan is. In a word, it is to effect automation and free the people from tough labour and enable them to work with ease, by consolidating and developing the successes in industrialization. In order to hit this goal, our people should display greater creativity, but it is also important to introduce advanced foreign technology.

You asked if we are now in the process of switching over to quality from quantity. We must increase both quantity and quality.

Next, you asked me about the problem of environmental pollution resulting from industrial construction. We also consider it a rather serious problem. In building industries we have made it as a principle to refrain from contaminating environments as far as possible.

To take an example. They say Mt. Myohyang-san has a big deposit of gold. Once some of our people proposed to mine gold there, but the Government prohibited it. We did not want to destroy that beautiful mountain just for a few tons of gold.

Because in our country industry is controlled by the state as the property of the entire people and there is no private mo-

nopoly capital, we can take measures to protect the people from damages and prevent environments from being contaminated in developing industry. We prohibit setting up large plants in Pyongyang. So such plants are not many in this city. In Pyongyang there are only textile mills, machine-building plants and other factories that give no harm to people. Women can work at these factories. Therefore, the environments of Pyongyang are never contaminated.

Industries are somewhat concentrated in Hamhung. The city is crowded with factories and they may do some harm to the population. Therefore we saw to it that the dwelling houses were rebuilt at the foot of hills.

We foresaw this problem and dispersed factories long ago. It is not raised for the first time today. Right after liberation and when we rehabilitated and constructed our industry immediately following the armistice, we pursued a policy of preventing factories from doing harm to people or contaminating the environments. We have distributed the nation's productive forces in such a planned way. Our country is now free from environmental pollution because according to this policy we have dispersed factories and selected definite areas to erect plants.

I will tell you this much since I was told that you are well informed of our economic problem.

As for your question about how we appraise the past year's developments in Asia, I think they were favourable.

In the past year the Japanese people, too, struggled dynamically. Their struggle was so powerful that the reactionary Sato government went out and the Tanaka government came in office. I consider that this is the result of the Japanese people's struggle.

We highly appraise and fully support their struggle. In my view, the Japanese people's struggle is significant not only in forcing the Sato Cabinet to resign; it is of tremendous significance in leading the Japanese government to take the road to independence. I think this is a very good thing.

Sometime ago the Sino-Japanese talks were held and a Sino-Japanese joint statement was made. The joint statement is considered a good thing. I believe that the recent normalization of relations between these two countries will contribute greatly to peace in Asia.

The Japanese people have also fought actively to establish the relations of friendship and amity with the Korean people. As a result, mutual visits have now begun between the two countries, through which mutual understanding has been deepened; there is a prospect that economic interchange will increase. I think this has also made the situation favourable for the peoples and contributed to lessening tension.

With regard to the war in Viet Nam I already made my comments to the correspondents of the *Mainichi Shimbun,* so I have nothing more to say about it for the present.

In general, we may say that over the past year the Asian situation developed in favour of the Asian peoples and US imperialism suffered a great setback in Asia.

US imperialism is no longer in a position to make a fool of Japan at will. It is true that Japan is allied with the United States as its subordinate, but it is trying to free itself from under the control of US imperialism.

US imperialism was also forced to abandon its policy of blockade against China. As a consequence China's international prestige has risen higher.

All this will produce a good effect on the Asian peoples. I do not think it will affect them adversely.

The US imperialists have intensified bombings against Viet Nam and blackmailed it by all means. But the Vietnamese people have not been brought to their knees; on the contrary, they are fighting more powerfully. This shows that there is no way out for US imperialism.

In Asia the Asians must become the masters and the US

imperialists must not be allowed to behave as masters. We must drive all the US imperialist forces out of Asia where they are setting foot. To this end we should, of course, wage a powerful struggle in the future. One thing I can say definitely: the awareness and fighting spirit of the Asian peoples have increased and they do not want to be ruled by US imperialism.

In a word, I believe that the situation in Asia will develop in such a way as to enable the Asians to live peacefully among themselves and it will turn more favourably for the Asian peoples who are fighting for the freedom and liberation, national independence and peace.

Next, you asked me about national reunification. On this question I have nothing to add to what I said to the *Mainichi Shimbun* correspondents.

True, the north-south joint statement was made on the basis of the three principles maintained by us. However, its announcement does not mean that everything has been solved. We have only opened the closed door, met and exchanged greetings with each other for the first time; we have just laid down the principles for further discussion. Although they have started the north-south talks, the south Korean rulers are carrying on unwarranted acts. They proclaimed a "state of emergency" on the pretext that there is the danger of our "invasion of the south". They have not yet removed it even after the announcement of the north-south joint statement which provides for the peaceful settlement of questions. They have not only not abrogated the "state of emergency" but also are neglecting the implementation of the stipulations of the joint statement, saying that they cannot believe in the Communists or that they must wait and see

If they cannot believe in us, what can we do for them? If they are asking us to disarm ourselves and give up our armaments to them, it is an unreasonable demand. We are not demanding them to do so. Once they promised to settle things peacefully, they should remove the "state of emergency" and

show some reaction. But they are taking many unwarranted actions, claiming that they cannot remove the "state of emergency" and repeal the "Anti-Communist Law", nor can they agree to hold political negotiations for the peaceful reunification, because they cannot trust the Communists. Though they have made public the joint statement designed to achieve reunification without outside interference, the south Korean rulers are alleging that the UN is not an outside force.

At present US imperialism is trying to find an excuse for preventing the withdrawal of their troops from south Korea. This is the biggest obstacle to the solution of our reunification question. The US imperialists said that they welcomed the north-south talks, but soon afterwards they declared that they would keep providing south Korea with armaments and that they would not get out of there. In the final analysis, it is the US imperialists and the reactionary forces tailing after them that are hindering the reunification of our country.

After the north-south joint statement was made, many people are looking forward to the country's reunification. However, some reactionaries, while obstructing the people's desire from being materialized, are alleging that the peaceful reunification is impossible, and some people are saying that national unity between the north and south is unrealizable.

The question now lies in the fact that the outside forces and their sycophants are obstructing the dialogue between the north and south. Outside forces are the US imperialists, and some reactionary circles in Japan can be regarded as belonging to this category. Main outside forces are the US imperialists. In word the US imperialists say they are for the north-south dialogue, but, in actual deed, they are obstructing it.

I consider that the peoples in Asia and elsewhere should pool their strength and put pressure on US imperialism. The US imperialists say that they are going to improve relations with China as well as with the Soviet Union. Why do they try

to keep their military bases in south Korea, one half of our territory? They are alleging that they are staying on in south Korea to "protect" it because we may attack. Why are they going to stay on there after our declaration that we will reunify the country peacefully? At the United Nations they flatly insisted on postponing the discussion of the Korean question for a year. We demanded that the discussion of the Korean question should not be postponed, that since the dialogue has begun between the north and south Koreans all obstructive factors to Korean reunification should be removed in order to fully guarantee the unity of the Koreans and that only by doing so will it be possible to assist in the reunification of Korea. The Algerian proposal was tabled on this basis, but it was rejected because of the US obstruction. At the current session of the UN General Assembly many countries supported the Algerian proposal in order to help us. We feel grateful to these countries for their great efforts to support our position.

The south Korean representatives are allowed to carry out their activities at the United Nations freely but our representatives have not been allowed to do the same.

The discussion of the Korean question was postponed for one year at the UN General Assembly, so the reunification of Korea will be hampered that much The point is that the US imperialists are leading the obstructionist manoeuvres. It is obvious that as long as foreign troops are occupying part of a country, it cannot reunify itself at its own free will. The US imperialists allege that they are "protecting" south Korea because we may invade it. What is the reason that they are going to remain there although we are willing to reunite the nation by peaceful means? They are openly revealing their aggressive ambition. It stems from the nature of imperialism.

It is not fortuitous that we Koreans are fighting vigorously against US imperialism. Since US imperialism is preventing our nation's reunification and trying to keep occupying south

Korea we cannot take a favourable attitude towards it, can we?

I am sure that if there are no obstructionist forces, the Koreans can find common denominators among themselves. There do exist differences in system and other problems between the north and south, but I think we can find common denominators and achieve national unity because we are the same nation. As I said to the *Mainichi Shimbun* correspondents, we proposed to set up a Confederation while maintaining the present systems as they are, if it is impossible to achieve reunification right now.

I hope the Japanese people and other Asian peoples will make united efforts to help us attain the reunification of Korea.

A nation must not be split into two against its will. We Koreans are a single nation with the same language and alphabet and the long-standing traditions. It is unjust to divide this nation in two by force, isn't it? We are suffering a pain now. This is really agonizing. We will have to unite and fight stoutly for reunification.

The present policy of the south Korean rulers is to resort to delaying tactics. They want to prolong their days as far as possible. Our three principles of national reunification have deprived them of excuses for taking unjust actions. That is why they are now manoeuvring to postpone the discussion of the Korean question at the UN and uttering all sorts of sophistry. This year they succeeded in postponing the UN discussion of the Korean question for one year, but I do not think their manoeuvre will last long. They cannot deceive the people for long. History will not allow them to do so. The people will be awakened and their struggle strengthened.

We have been informed that recently some south Korean personages in opposition stated that they supported the north-south joint statement, that it was necessary to accept our idea of a Confederation and that political negotiations between political parties and social organizations of the north and south should be held. Public opinion is increasing for reunification in

south Korea. The south Korean press are being muzzled so severely that they cannot reveal the fact. It will be useful if the Japanese press report the just voices of the south Korean people and the opposition members. In south Korea different utterances are being given because the reactionary forces who are obstructing reunification are resorting to a harsh repression and there are complications among themselves, but the people are well aware of which is right.

The forces who want to perpetuate the split of one people and divide one country in two are insignificant in south Korea; the great majority of its people demand reunification by all means. So we may have hope, though it will require some time. The south Korean rulers suggested first to refrain from abuse and slander but they violated the agreement. So I mentioned it in my recent talk with the correspondents of the *Mainichi Shimbun*. Of late a "letter" signed by Li Hu Rak was addressed to the south Korean press, requesting them not to use words that might obstruct reunification. I do not know whether it is a trick or not. If they really mean what they say, we will also take a good attitude.

The north and south could have no contact before, but now contacts are being made through the Red Cross talks and through the Coordination Commission. This is a good thing compared with the past. I think common denominators will be found through these contacts.

Now let me touch briefly on the relations between Korea and Japan.

With regard to this question I have already mentioned it many times, so I will not make a long comment. I think the problem of Korea-Japan relations will be settled more smoothly if the north and south Koreans solve the country's reunification question speedily.

We consider that there has been much progress in our relations with the Japanese people in the past year. Today the

relations between the Korean and Japanese peoples are developing satisfactorily.

Judging from the fact that the Tanaka government is having relations with socialist countries on the basis of the five principles of peaceful coexistence, I do not think that it will take an unfriendly attitude towards our country in the future. At present the Tanaka Cabinet permits the mutual visits of individual persons between Japan and our country; and recently it permitted the entry of our scholars into Japan. It is reported that they will invite our journalist delegation and permit visits of technicians in the future. In this way the Tanaka Cabinet has slackened the hostile policy pursued towards our country in the days of the Sato Cabinet. I think this is a good thing, indeed.

The Japanese press including the *Mainichi Shimbun* and the *Asahi Shimbun,* too, are suggesting the necessity to reappraise the Korea-Japan relations. Especially, the Japanese people have an increasingly deeper understanding of our country.

In all these respects, we can foresee a closer relationship between the two countries.

We consider that if the Japanese government wants to work sincerely for the peace of Asia, it should at least pursue a policy which is not obstructive to our country's reunification, and we hope the Japanese government will do so. For this the Japanese government must renounce the one-sided policy and adopt an unbiased policy entirely devoid of aggressive character to both the north and south of the Korean peninsula. By doing so, it should help towards accelerating the reunification of our country, I think.

We do not fear that the development of trade relations between Korea and Japan will reduce our country to a supplier of raw materials or commodity market for Japan. Ours is an independent country. It is an economically independent country with its own industrial basis. Therefore, we are firmly convinced that

our country will never be reduced to a supplier of raw materials or commodity market for other countries.

Of course, we can sell some raw materials to Japan. This does not mean that our country will become a supplier of raw materials for Japan. Our country is blessed with abundant iron ores. Even if we sell some of them to Japan, it cannot be said that our country will be reduced to a supplier of raw materials for Japan. A country which is not independent and self-reliant will be reduced to a supplier of raw materials for foreign countries. However, our country will never be driven into such a status since we are independent and have a self-reliant economy.

We do not worry about this. On the contrary, we think it will conform and be beneficial to the interests of the peoples of the two countries to develop trade with Japan on the principles of equality and mutual benefit. If the Japanese authorities propose to conduct trade with us, we are ready

We do not expect any great benefit from our economic interchange with Japan. And yet we consider that Korea and Japan can conduct as much economic interchange as possible on the principle of mutual benefit.

Any interchange must be conducted on the principles of equality and mutual benefit, not by aggressive methods We are carrying on trade with other capitalist countries on the principle of mutual benefit. We are sure that we will never be deprived of our independence.

The case is entirely different with south Korea South Korea is conducting economic exchange in such a way that it imports factories from Japan and manages them jointly or hands over the right of management to the Japanese side. This should be considered a shackling economic exchange.

We do not tolerate such a thing. In case we import factories from Japan we will pay for them. We want to conduct economic interchange with Japan on the principle of equality. We do [illegible] permit the Japanese to gain the right of industrial manag-

or ownership in our country, nor do we want to receive long term loans from Japan. We are going to conduct trade in accordance with the principles of international trade.

You asked me if we will establish diplomatic relations with Japan in spite of the "Japan-ROK treaty" concluded between Japan and south Korea. We have never said that we will establish diplomatic relations with Japan while there exists the "Japan-ROK treaty". The worst of this "treaty" is its third article. It stipulates the "Republic of Korea" as the only lawful government in the Korean peninsula. This is an interference in our country's affairs.

When Governor Minobe was in our country I said to him that I could not recognize the "Japan-ROK treaty". It can be said that the Japanese government asserts that the "Republic of Korea Government" is the solely lawful "government" in the Korean peninsula, because Japan pursues a policy of following the United States and the reactionary Japanese government follows a hostile policy towards us. Therefore, we cannot say that Japan will treat us on an equal footing as long as the "Japan-ROK treaty" remains effective. I think some sort of action must be taken to nullify or abrogate it.

There are many problems here. For example, if the "UN resolution" defining the "Republic of Korea" as the sole "government" in the Korean peninsula is repealed, the "Japan-ROK treaty" will lose its effect automatically. Because the "Japan-ROK treaty" is based on the "UN resolution".

We have not yet proposed to establish diplomatic relations with the Japanese government. We are not going to conduct a sycophantic diplomacy. If the Japanese government wants to establish diplomatic relations with our country, it may and, if not, it may not. This is our position. Certainly, it would be better if diplomatic relations are established between the two countries. If Japan normalizes its relations with the Democratic People's Republic of Korea the third article of the "Japan-ROK treaty"

can be regarded as null and void. Many problems may arise in this connection. We have not yet raised this matter formally to the Japanese government. We are going to solve the question of the Korea-Japan relations, examining the Japanese government's attitude towards us.

I am glad to have a long talk with you during your visit to our country. I am happy to have exchanged our opinions in this way.

TALK WITH THE EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR AND CHIEF EDITOR OF IWANAMI PUBLISHING HOUSE IN JAPAN

September 19, 1973

I am very happy, Mr. Midorikawa Toru, that you came to our country and joined us in celebrating the 25th anniversary of the founding of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea.

Your visit to our country is the expression of your deep love for and trust in the Korean people. I am glad to have another Japanese friend like you, and I thank you for your coming to our country.

I also feel grateful to your publishing house for its friendly and brotherly attitude in widely introducing all the achievements made by the DPRK and for many good things it has done for our country out of its sympathetic stand towards us. On your return home, I hope you will convey my best regards to the president and the staff of Iwanami.

Sometime ago, *Sekai* magazine published by Iwanami carried an article entitled *South Korea Today*. I read the whole text. It was very interesting. It offered us plenty of information. Though we have much information of south Korea, the corruption of the south Korean authorities laid bare in your article infuriates us as Koreans.

It is quite reasonable that you should draw your pen to ex-

pose and criticize the crimes of the south Korean authorities and their corruption. By so doing, you are helping to raise the awareness of the Japanese and south Korean peoples and all the rest of people in the world and making a great contribution to strengthening friendship between the peoples of Korea and Japan. Moreover, through this work, you are playing an important role in disseminating progressive ideas throughout the world.

We know well that the editorial staff of *Sekai* magazine and the staff of Iwanami are making great efforts for world progress.

You asked about my impression on the 25th anniversary of the founding of the DPRK. Well, we have just held a plenary meeting of the Party Central Committee, and analysed the achievements scored in the ideological, technical and cultural revolutions in the last 25 years after the founding of the Republic. Therefore, if I tell you about them, I think it would adequately answer your question. Since I cannot say in a limited time everything discussed for over a week at the plenary meeting, I will just touch briefly on major points.

The last plenary meeting of the Party Central Committee considered that our Party's lines and policies pursued since the founding of the Republic are most correct Their correctness is conspicuous most recently when the international situation is rapidly changing and developing in a diversified way Especially our Party's line of independence in politics, self-reliance in economy and self-defence in guarding the nation has been proved quite correct. All our achievements are thanks to the Juche idea consistently maintained by our Party and to the line of independence, self-reliance and self-defence which is the embodiment of this idea.

How correct is our Party's maintenance of the principle of political independence, economic self-reliance and national self-defence has now been corroborated more evidently than ever. At present many countries of the world want to follow the road to independence—in our opinion, not merely the nations of the

third world but also those of the second world such as Japan, Canada and France. We are inclined to think that it is the common aspiration of the people the world over. It is true that the reactionary forces are taking up the policy of following in the wake of great powers. However, almost all the peoples of the world, progressive forces and highly awakened public figures are demanding independence. I think the same is true of Japan, our close neighbour. The great majority of the people, progressive forces and most of public figures in Japan, except a tiny handful of reactionaries, are all stressing and demanding independence.

As you see, our Party's line of independence has come into being at a time when people in all countries are aspiring for independence, and it is in full accord with the trends of the present time. In other words, it is coincident with the aspiration of the world people, though the independence line of our Party and the Government of the Republic was chosen by the Korean people themselves. Therefore, we can say that we are taking the same road with the progressive people of the world, in keeping with international trends.

This was clearly shown also at the Fourth Summit Conference of Non-Aligned Nations recently held in Algeria with the participation of the heads of states and governments and their representatives from more than 80 nations or more than 100 delegations. Our country was not represented at this conference. However, the conference condemned foreign interference in Korea's internal affairs and the plot to rig up "two Koreas". It adopted a resolution that an end must be put to all forms of foreign interference in Korea's domestic affairs and that the 28th session of the UN General Assembly must decide on the withdrawal of foreign troops occupying south Korea under the UN flag and on the dissolution of the "UN Commission for the Unification and Rehabilitation of Korea". The conference also resolved that Korea must be admitted to the UN after the complete reunification of Korea or after the institution of a north-south

Confederation under a single name. We got this information during the last plenary meeting of the Party Central Committee and through this we have been convinced more firmly of the correctness of our Party's line and realized more clearly than ever that many peoples in the world are supporting us.

Not only the non-aligned nations but the peoples of Japan and many other countries are backing our line of independence. This support and encouragement convinces our people more deeply of the justness of their struggle and inspires our struggle.

We have made great progress not only in the sphere of foreign activity but also in the internal affairs.

Our people are united solidly with one mind and one purpose on the basis of the Juche idea. In our country today the tendency to flunkeyism handed down over many years has been eliminated and the firm politico-ideological unity of all people materialized on the basis of the Juche idea. If our Party had been captivated by flunkeyism and had not carved out its destiny with its own efforts, blindly following the policies of other countries, it would not have obtained this politico-ideological unity of all people nor achieved shining victories in the revolution and construction as today.

At the recent plenary meeting of the Party Central Committee we proudly analysed that despite manifold hardships in its advance over the last 25 years after the founding of the Republic, our Party had been able to gain the brilliant successes as we are witnessing today because it had hewed out its way with its own efforts, using its own brains. We also estimated that the proud successes were possible because our Party's Juche idea and the line of independence, self-reliance and self-defence gripped the hearts of our people, and because all Party, all army and all people accepted and made them part of their own bodies.

Today all our working people are firmly equipped with the Juche idea and giving full play to their creative zeal to carry out their tasks with the attitude of masters Our Republic has made

all these successes in the last 25 years because those who had money donated their money, those with knowledge devoted their knowledge and those with techniques offered their techniques. In other words, they are the fruit of the struggle all our people have waged to overcome hardships by giving full play to their energy and talents. Needless to say, with a few persons' efforts and talents, it would have been impossible to turn our Republic in such a short span of time into a powerful socialist country which is prospering and developing today.

Not only workers and peasants but also the intellectuals who had been well-off before took part in the struggle for the prosperity and progress of the Republic, dedicating all their wisdom. Thanks to our Party's correct policy of intelligentsia, none of the old intellectuals who had joined our revolutionary ranks became a laggard. Many of them fought devotedly to carry through the lines and policies of the Party and the Government to the last moment of their days.

Our Republic has been able to enjoy the present prosperity and progress because all our people, ideologically united as one man, worked in this way with the attitude of masters in order to consolidate their government and make their country richer and stronger.

Much progress has also been made in the sphere of culture.

Right after liberation we began with the work of eradicating illiteracy. When I was Chairman of the Provisional People's Committee of North Korea, we discussed the pencil problem as the first item of the agenda for the committee. We did this immediately after liberation in order to educate our children and wipe out illiteracy, but now, we are considering how to make all the working people acquire a high level of cultural and intellectual attainments—the middle school graduate standard and above—and master at least one kind of technical skill.

Moreover, our Party trained large numbers of new intellectuals, at the same time reeducating the old intellectuals to be

working intellectuals who serve the people. The result is that we have now more than 600,000 technicians and specialists. The Party has proposed the goal to increase their ranks to more than one million in the near future and is striving to attain it.

All these successes scored in the development of culture fully show how correct was our Party's cultural policy pursued over the last 25 years since the birth of the Republic and how rapidly the cultural revolution was going on in our country.

We have also made big headway in the economic field.

Of course, we received aids from the fraternal countries for our economic construction. This was not the main thing, however. Our Party persisted in relying on its own internal forces for economic construction.

Now we can say that we have succeeded in building a completely independent national economy. Our economy is not only able to stand firmly on its own feet but also has foundations to develop more rapidly in the future. Today our nation's economy is powerful enough to advance independently and confidently, unaffected by any worldwide economic fluctuations. This has been proved by reality

At present we are discussing how to develop our economy more quickly. If there is any hardship in our economic development it may arise in the course of our rapid advancement. There is neither economic stagnation nor depression any more. It is a thing of the past now.

We can affirm with great pride and confidence that in the last 25 years following the founding of the Republic, we have made tremendous progress and successes throughout the ideological, cultural and economic realms.

Now our Party is appealing to the entire membership and the working people not to be complacent with the existing successes but to wage an uninterrupted struggle to consolidate them and make a fresh advance.

In order to consolidate the nation's economic foundation and

capture the material fortress to satisfy the people's vital demands more fully, all the working people must continue to work hard, without getting intoxicated with the successes or indolent. If we do not strengthen the ideological education of the working people, they may get conceited and lax as they become better off. Therefore, we must guard against any tendency to indolence and selfishness which may be expressed among the working people as they become well-off and must induce all of them to work and live with the collectivist spirit under the slogan: "One for all and all for one". So the recent plenary meeting of the Party Central Committee laid great emphasis on the necessity of ideological struggle against the tendencies to self-conceit and slackness which may breed as cares and worries are removed from our lives, and called upon the whole Party to prevent such tendencies.

You asked me about how the Six-Year Plan is being carried on in our country. Let me say a few words about it.

Today our workers and farmers have a high spirit to fulfil the Six-Year Plan ahead of time and the whole nation is striving to do so.

The three major tasks of the technical revolution are the crux of the Six-Year Plan. At the last plenary meeting of our Party Central Committee great emphasis was given to the necessity of dynamically carrying on the three major tasks of the technical revolution in order to fulfil the Six-Year Plan successfully.

We are now striving to narrow down the gap between heavy and light work and bring the former closer to the latter. Only when we quickly accomplish the tasks confronting us to diminish the differences between heavy and light work and liberate all the working people from backbreaking labour, can we fulfil the Six-Year Plan before the set time.

It is no easy job to completely eliminate the distinctions between heavy and light work. We intend to reduce their differ-

ences to a considerable extent in the near future. Now our country is making steady progress in lessening the differences between heavy and light work. We have already scored a big success in this respect.

In narrowing down these differences and freeing the working people from toilsome work the primary task is that of introducing technological innovations in the mining industry.

We must also put an end to heat-affected work in the realm of industry. What is important here is to introduce automation into production processes and then gradually switch over to telemechanics. Therefore, the Fifth Congress of our Party proposed the development of electronics as a major task in order to introduce automation satisfactorily.

All these problems are by no means simple ones. However, we are capable of solving them one by one.

If we are to fulfil our tasks of the technical revolution, we must study and invent many things for ourselves. We are now exerting much effort for this. In addition, we must also actively introduce foreign techniques. This is not contradictory to self-reliance. Some people regard self-reliance as doing everything entirely on one's own This is not correct. Self-reliance means to rely on one's own efforts, instead of depending on others. As for the techniques already invented and developed by others we had better introduce them than start research on them by ourselves. In my opinion, adequately learning foreign techniques also conforms with self-reliance. It is wrong to keep the door shut, instead of learning from others If we inspect technological branches in foreign countries and learn their techniques, we will advance more quickly

I think most of the indices envisaged under the Six-Year Plan will be attained by 1975. However, we will have to strive continuously to develop our technology.

From now, we must exert much effort for heavy industry.

If we quickly complete construction projects for heavy industry, we will expedite the fulfilment of the tasks assigned to this field. But if we slow down the construction, the fulfilment of these tasks may be somewhat delayed. We are now pressing forward to fulfil the tasks of heavy industry under the Six-Year Plan by the end of 1975. But I am afraid some of the indices of heavy industry might not be achieved before the first half of 1976.

At present light industry is also going well. I think this industry will attain the major goals of the Six-Year Plan next year.

Our country is developing light industry in two directions. Namely, we are developing central and local industries. By developing central industries we mean to build and run the large-scale, modern light industry factories, and by local industries we mean to operate the small and medium-sized light industry factories in localities, using their raw materials.

In 1975 we will fulfil the tasks assigned to light industries, envisaged in the Six-Year Plan.

Now our working people are in high spirits to accomplish the Six-Year Plan ahead of schedule and we have also many favourable conditions. Formerly we traded only with socialist countries but at present, we have trade relations with many capitalist as well as newly independent countries. Particularly, we have closer trade relations with the newly independent nations in the third world.

Next, we are striving to diminish differences between agricultural and industrial work and bring the former closer to the latter. What is important here is to accomplish the tasks advanced in the *Theses on the Socialist Rural Question in Our Country*.

Next year we will mark the tenth anniversary of the announcement of the *Theses on the Socialist Rural Question in Our Country*. We are endeavouring to carry out the tasks put forth in the theses on the occasion of the tenth anniversary. I think that

next year we will fulfil almost all the tasks of the theses except those of the ideological revolution.

We are foreseeing that the major tasks of the rural technical revolution proposed by the theses will be almost fulfilled next year.

The irrigation of land in our countryside has long since been completed and the electrification has also been splendidly materialized. We are now striving to complete mechanization.

The theses defines that the number of tractors in the countryside must be increased to 70,000-80,000 (in terms of 15 hp units). The workers at the tractor plants are battling to hit this target by next July.

In our country there are some 1,500,000 *chongbo* of cultivated land where machines are applicable. If 80,000 tractors are produced, we can supply five or six tractors per 100 *chongbo* of land. When 70,000-80,000 tractors are supplied to the countryside, we will have basically satisfied its demands for the machines.

The Six-Year Plan envisages the number of tractors per 100 *chongbo* of arable land to be augmented to six or seven. We think we will be able to attain this goal in 1975 The task of chemicalization of agriculture set forth in the theses will also be fulfilled next year. The theses on the rural question set it as a task to provide each *chongbo* with more than one ton of chemical fertilizer. This goal will be accomplished by the first half of next year. One ton of chemical fertilizer for each *chongbo* is not so bad. Next year the goal of supplying different agricultural chemicals will also be attained. Next year will thus see the fulfilment of the major tasks of the rural technical revolution put forth in the theses

The prospect of grain production is also fine. As we have just seen in the farming villages, our country is expecting a bumper crop this year. Onchon County which we have just visited was one of the most backward counties before, but, now, its grain production increases every year. This county's grain pro-

duction record was 53,000 tons. But they say it will harvest 70,000 tons this year. This county has the goal to produce 73,000 tons of grain under the Six-Year Plan. So, if it produces 3,000 tons more next year, the county will have fulfilled the Six-Year Plan. This is not a very hard job. If just a bit more is turned out at each *chongbo,* that will do. Our rural officials may rest content with the achievements we have made this year. That is why at the last plenary meeting of the Party Central Committee we warned them not to get self-complacent.

In all probabilities the agricultural goal of the Six-Year Plan will be attained next year. As a whole, our Six-Year Plan is being carried out satisfactorily.

Next, we are waging a struggle to liberate our women from the heavy burden of household chores. This struggle is also being conducted on a nationwide scale. Especially our women are striving to liberate themselves from the toil, displaying a high degree of creativity.

In the battle to free the women from the heavy burden of household chores, many successes have already been made. Korean women had carried water jars on their heads over many centuries. But, now, with the introduction of water service to many villages, they no longer carry water jars on their heads. When I talk with old women in the countryside, they say through tears of emotion that they had to carry water jars on their heads for so many years, but only in the era of the Workers' Party have they been relieved from this trouble. Indeed, carrying water jars on their heads was a very heavy burden for our women.

The introduction of water service has eliminated the practice of carrying water jars on the heads in the countryside and, moreover, enabled the villagers to drink purified water. The farmers are most delighted at the introduction of water service.

While lessening the women's burdensome work, we have also taken measures to lighten their burden of raising their children. Rearing children is a heavy burden to women. The state

has built many nurseries and kindergartens in order to ease this burden.

The children looked after at nurseries and kindergartens are provided with lunch and snack there, though they have breakfast at home. Our women are deeply moved by this solicitude shown by the Party and the state. They say that since all these conditions are guaranteed, they never feel tired from their work.

If you talk with our comrades you will obtain more detailed information about the Six-Year Plan. We are sure that we can succeed in fulfilling this plan Come again to our country when the Six-Year Plan is completed. You said in the car that in the DPRK one year makes an epoch. When the Six-Year Plan is over, the look of our country will change still further.

You asked about the questions of Korean reunification and the UN, so I will refer to the former in relation to the latter.

As far as the UN is concerned, its Charter is not bad in itself. However, the UN has so far been dominated by great powers; it has been under their control. Therefore, the UN has been unable to work in accordance with its Charter. The UN Charter has not been observed especially because the US imperialists have indulged in power politics and wielded their baton in the United Nations.

But today many newly independent nations and progressive countries have become members of the UN. As I have said, the newly independent nations demand independence. Accordingly, among the UN member states there is an increasing demand that the UN be an organization to ensure every country independence.

If it is to be faithful to its Charter, the UN must be an organization that ensures independence to all countries alike, big or small. And yet we do not mean that the UN is no longer necessary. Many countries are still pinning great hopes on the United Nations.

Of course, should the UN continue to act contrary to its

Charter, under the influence of great nations' power politics and their batons, it would lose confidence of the world people.

As the people of all countries are now beginning to see through the essence of the US imperialist policies of aggression and neocolonialism, the prestige of US imperialism is being gradually shaken. The baton wielded by it at the UN is also losing its force. At present, many countries are putting up a firm struggle, demanding the UN to act in the spirit of its Charter. In my opinion, the political awakening of the newly independent nations will be decisive to the future functioning of the United Nations.

Now, the south Korean authorities, US imperialism and the Japanese government have been manoeuvring towards the simultaneous admission of "two Koreas" to the UN. This is why the problem of admitting "two Koreas" to the UN has been placed on the agenda of the UN General Assembly for discussion this year.

Why have they advanced the proposal on the simultaneous admission of "two Koreas" to the UN at a time when negotiations are going on between the north and south and no agreement has been reached as yet between the two sides?

This proposal lays bare the real intention of the US imperialists and some of the Japanese reactionaries who have long since schemed to perpetuate the division of Korea. In other words, it fully reveals their ambitions towards Korea.

The proposal on the simultaneous admission of "two Koreas" to the UN is also aimed at forestalling the discussion at the UN General Assembly on the problem of the withdrawal of US troops out of south Korea. This is the main purpose they are pursuing. They advanced this proposal in an attempt to arouse the world's interest in the problem of the simultaneous entry of "two Koreas" into the UN and divert its attention from the question of the withdrawal of US troops from south Korea. The proposal is a trick to achieve this very purpose. In short, it is based

on the scheme to keep US troops in south Korea, as they are no longer able to find any excuse for this. In the last analysis, the proposal is designed to attract less attention of many nations at the UN General Assembly to the question of the withdrawal of US troops from south Korea and keep them in south Korea under the UN signboard.

The US imperialists, the Japanese reactionaries and the south Korean puppets also know that they cannot materialize the simultaneous entry of "two Koreas" into the UN. They cannot because one of the two agrees to the entry into the UN while the other disagrees.

However, the US imperialists advanced the proposal on the simultaneous entry of "two Koreas" into the UN in an endeavour to cause polemics over this question and then equivocally skip over the question of the withdrawal of US troops from south Korea. This is a mere conjury to hoodwink the world people. Deceptive tactics cannot last long before their eyes. If you see a juggler's trick more than once, you can fully grasp the secret.

This problem may create a sensation at the UN General Assembly this year. However, the substance of the matter is already being brought to light.

The Fourth Summit Conference of the Non-Aligned Nations held in Algeria declared that Korea should enter into the UN as one, not as two. In my opinion, the countries participating in the conference came to this conclusion because they had seen through the trick of the entry of "two Koreas" into the UN.

The simultaneous admission of "two Koreas" to the UN will never be beneficial to the Korean people We will never recognize "two Koreas".

The American and the Japanese reactionaries and the south Korean authorities have stubbornly insisted on placing the simultaneous entry of "two Koreas" on the agenda of this year's session of the UN General Assembly also because it is going

to consider the admission of East and West Germany to the UN. They want to take advantage of this. The US imperialists are very cunning.

Ours is fundamentally different from the case of East and West Germany. Both of them want separation. Formerly Germany was an aggressor nation. As a result of the war, it was divided into two; one became a worker-peasant state, and the other a monopoly-capitalist state. The maintenance of the worker-peasant state in East Germany will, in the long run, serve to weaken the strength of monopoly capital in West Germany. In addition, the adjacent European countries do not want Germany to reunite and become a strong militarist power. Because, then, Germany may reappear as a force of aggression.

But our case is quite different. We have never invaded any country. Our country was a colony before and then liberated. Our neighbours do not consider that our country would invade others when reunified. Neither the Chinese nor the Soviets nor the Japanese think so. For the Asian countries reunified Korea would be more beneficial than two Koreas antagonistic to each other. The Japanese people have this view, and so have the Chinese and Soviet peoples.

What is most important here is that the Korean people both in the north and south do not want the division of their country. Koreans are a homogeneous nation which has a long history of a unified state. That is why they never want themselves to be divided.

It is only a handful of south Korea's reactionary forces, the pro-American reactionaries in Japan and the US imperialists who want the partition of our country. The US imperialists want this in order to keep south Korea as their military base.

Why should our country be divided when the overwhelming majority of nations want to see Korea reunified? We have had enough suffering of national division in the last 28 years. Why must we continue to have this suffering? We are resolutely op-

posed to the entry of "two Koreas" into the UN. We believe that the countries sympathetic towards us are also against it.

Now let me touch briefly on your question about how to form the Confederal Republic of Koryo.

We proposed that the Confederation be named Confederal Republic of Koryo because once on our territory there existed a unified state named Koryo. It is a good name acceptable to both sides. If we named the confederal state the Democratic People's Republic of Korea or the "Republic of Korea", it would mean to force one side's demand on the other. For this reason we proposed naming it Confederal Republic of Koryo so that both the north and south may accept it on the principle of equality.

Our Confederation proposal is that a confederal state be formed, leaving the present social systems in the north and south as they are for the time being So the main thing here is that the two sides trust each other and achieve great national unity.

In our opinion, it is necessary first to convene a Great National Congress and settle matters concerning the country's reunification through extensive consultations. This congress must discuss the question of eliminating military confrontation and removing tension between the north and south. In order to solve this question, it is necessary to take a number of measures already proposed by us, such as the reduction of armed forces of the north and south. This will create conditions for mutual trust and national amity between the two sides.

We also hold that there should be overall collaboration and interchange between the north and south in the political, economic, cultural and all other realms.

Despite the institutional differences between the north and south there are many problems on which we can work together now. Both sides can jointly exploit the mineral resources and make use of the results of scientific and technological researches. Overall collaboration is realizable in many other fields.

If the north and south materialize all-round collaboration

and interchange in different spheres, conditions will be created for the two sides to understand and trust each other in this course, and as the time goes by, their mutual understanding will deepen. Then the two sides will be able to have a correct understanding of each other's system, and this will help remove the fear still entertained by some south Koreans for the socialist system in the northern half of the Republic. Further, if, through the north-south collaboration, right is distinguished from wrong, the latter eliminated and the former encouraged, favourable conditions will be created for achieving great national unity.

Since ours is a single nation who have lived with the same culture and the same language through many centuries, they will understand each other quickly once the north and south collaborate.

All we are doing today is for the benefit of our nation. We have done nothing which conflicts with the interests of our nation. We have never sold our national interests. We are always doing all we can to protect and safeguard our nation's interests.

Quite contrary to this, the south Korean authorities are selling our national interests. We cannot tolerate it.

Should they collaborate with us the south Korean authorities can solve many problems without selling the interests of the nation. Let me cite an example. At present they are exporting huge manpower, including nurses and miners. Instead of this, if they collaborate with us, they will be able to solve their problems of livelihood.

We are proposing to institute the north-south Confederation on the basis of the mutual understanding between the two sides and of the great national unity through these different measures.

At present the south Korean people are criticizing their authorities for their excessive irregularities and corruptions. The south Korean authorities are apprehensive lest these misdeeds should be brought to light once they collaborate with us. We have repeatedly made clear that if the south Korean authorities

frankly admit their crimes against the country and people and desist from treacheries, their past crimes will be condoned. If they assure that they will not commit irregularities and corruptions any more, we will not be particular about their past doings. However, if the south Korean authorities continue to indulge in them, they will inevitably be criticized and condemned not only by the people in south Korea but by the whole Korean people.

Since the detailed measures for the formation of the Confederal Republic of Koryo have to be decided upon through consultations between the north and south, I cannot make any further remarks.

And as regards your question about the North-South Coordination Commission, I have nothing to say because the Premier of the Administration Council dwelt on it in detail in his report made at the central meeting to celebrate the 25th anniversary of the founding of the Republic. The views he expressed were not his own but our Party Central Committee's.

Our position is that the north and south must continue to promote contact and dialogue, instead of keeping the door closed. The matter depends entirely on the attitude of the south Korean authorities. We have to wait and see how they will react.

Now, I would like to refer to the relations between our country and Japan.

As we have stated on a number of occasions, the normalization of state relations between our country and Japan is entirely up to the Japanese government's attitude

At present, we are not so much concerned about the normalization of state relations between our country and Japan The normalized relationship will not settle all problems arising between our country and Japan We cannot say that once the Japanese embassy is set up in Pyongyang or our embassy in Tokyo, everything will have been settled with regard to the relations between our country and Japan

What is important in improving the relations between our

country and Japan is that the two countries should deepen their mutual understanding and, especially, that the Japanese government should stop its hostile policy towards our country. Our country and Japan do not properly understand each other. In our opinion, the two countries should first have a better understanding of each other.

You said that the visit of our Mansudae Art Troupe to Japan had given a great help to increasing mutual understanding between the two countries. I thank you for this estimation.

While our Mansudae Art Troupe was staying in Japan, the political parties, social organizations, individual figures of different strata and the mass of people expressed their active support for our people. They showed hospitality to our artistes, as their friends and comrades, and firmly supported our people's struggle to reunify the country. It means that our two peoples have a very amicable relationship. We have an old saying: A good neighbour is better than a cousin. I wonder whether you have a similar Japanese proverb.

We believe that despite their different social systems, our country and Japan can have good-neighbour relations and further cement friendship and solidarity between their peoples. If the Japanese government has no objection, from now on, we will make arrangements for more visits to Japan, similar to the Mansudae Art Troupe's. This will help develop the friendly relations between the Korean and Japanese peoples.

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